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## IAI struggling to come up with rescue plan

# The Lavi's fading roar

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
and AVI TEMKIN  
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Israel Aircraft Industries, the main producer of the Lavi, has apparently failed to come up with a plan to sufficiently reduce costs and thus save the beleaguered project.

So far, IAI representatives haven't presented any formal proposals in discussing possible cuts with Defence Ministry officials. But, according to an authoritative source, IAI is only able to suggest \$80 million in reduced costs, while the required amount should be about \$150m.

IAI offers a sound proposal, even Defence Minister Rabin would reconsider his opposition to the plane. But at a meeting with IAI's directors yesterday, he said the budgetary constraints cast doubts over Israel's ability to produce a plane of its own. He reportedly said that the defence industries in general are too big for Israel.

Finance Minister Moshe Nissim also attended the discussion on cutting costs in the development and production of the Lavi. He told reporters after the meeting that he and Rabin had not changed their minds about the need to scrap the Lavi project. "Although thorough, (it was) a sad meeting," he said. He added that there was no doubt that IAI would be hurt by the

decision to call off the project. There would have to be layoffs, he said, and there was no other choice.

Nissim declared that he and Rabin were still considering making a joint proposal to the cabinet when it resumes its deliberations on the future of the Lavi on July 19, when a final vote is expected. Nissim once again refused to comment on the reported support of Prime Minister Shamir and Vice Premier Peres for the Lavi. He said he hoped Rabin and Peres would eventually join him and Rabin.

Nissim added that he was confident the weapons systems the Army proposes to develop instead of the Lavi would in the long run solve any employment problem created by the cancellation of the Lavi.

Nissim revealed that the development costs of the Lavi are now calculated at some \$3.5 billion, of which \$1.5 billion have already been spent. Until a few months ago it was thought that these costs would total \$2.9 billion.

"Who knows whether this is the final figure - at the beginning of the project, development costs were put at \$800 million," Nissim said.

If a compromise is adopted on the Lavi, he declared, the Army may end up without the plane it needs, and without the weapons system it wants.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## North praises Nir's 'bravery'

By DAVID MAKOVSKY  
and agencies

WASHINGTON. - In his third day of testimony in the Iran-Contra hearings, Oliver North lauded Israel and in particular the prime minister's adviser on terrorism, Amiram Nir, for playing key roles in the capture of the Achille Lauro terrorists. North also cited Nir's overall bravery.

North's words were in response



Amiram Nir (Isaac Harari)

to a front page Washington Post story yesterday which said that Prime Minister Shamir had stripped Nir of his duties for allegedly lying and holding an unauthorized meeting four months ago in Geneva with a key figure in the Iranian arms sale, Manucher Ghorbanifar.

The prime minister's spokesman in Jerusalem last night denied the Washington Post report that Shamir had relieved Nir of his duties as his terrorism adviser and said that

(Continued on back page)

## After meeting with Mubarak

# Peres sees progress - despite difficulties

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
and agencies

GENEVA. - This year was slated the year of peace, and it is not over yet, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said yesterday evening after a two-hour meeting here with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

"I think I learned a great deal," Peres said. "We are on the move, learning and moving. We have made progress. We have encountered difficulties, but I am leaving with a sense of progress."

The talks focused on the convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East. Israeli and Egyptian officials told reporters that the two main obstacles encountered over such a conference were deciding what role the Soviet Union should play and how the Palestinians should be represented.

"I found our positions on Palestinian representation to be quite close," Peres said. "President Mubarak believes in joint Palestinian-Jordanian representation to an international conference and he does not believe in a Palestinian state," said Peres. "I made it clear to President Mubarak that it was out of the question for us to talk to the PLO. All theoretical arguments are pushed aside when actions result in the deliberate murder of a young child."

Asked what the main obstacles to a conference were, Peres said: "For the time being, the Russian position vis-a-vis the nature of the conference and vis-a-vis its relationship with Israel."

Asked if Moscow should be part of such a conference, he said: "If they will accept the rules of the game." He did not elaborate.



Shimon Peres and Hosni Mubarak before their meeting in Geneva yesterday. (AFP)

Mubarak later told reporters during a reception for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which both leaders are attending, that the Soviet Union had a role to play in the peace process.

"The Soviet Union must be part of an international conference because it is the second world power and could be a good guarantor," he said.

An Israeli spokesman said after the talks that Mubarak had agreed to send Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Esmat Abdel-Maguid on an official visit to Israel in two weeks' time.

Officials in the Prime Minister's Office last night warmly welcomed the news that Maguid would be coming to Jerusalem. They recalled that an invitation to him had originally been extended by Shamir when the two men met last September in New York. At the time, Shamir had said that a visit by the Egyptian minister would serve to regularize such contacts which had been commonplace

between the two countries prior to the 1982 Lebanon war. Officials here also hoped that the Maguid visit would be a forerunner of an invitation to Shamir to visit Egypt.

Peres and Mubarak also discussed economic and other forms of cooperation between the two countries.

In an interview with Israel Television last night, Mubarak said that it was essential for the development of countries in the Middle East that peace prevail in the whole area.

"We must overcome all the difficulties to reach a comprehensive settlement," he said.

The fact that Mubarak talked to ITV was regarded by the Israeli delegation in Geneva as very positive.

It was learned that U.S. Undersecretary of State Richard Murphy and his Soviet counterpart Vladimir Poliakov, with whom he met at the beginning of the week in Geneva, are still there. According to di-

(Continued on Page 16)

## Early election unlikely

For the past few months, politicians have been debating the pros and cons of early elections. But, increasingly, what they have been thinking about - with hope or with dread - is a narrow-based coalition.

Many sources familiar with Prime Minister Shamir's thinking are now convinced that if push comes to shove, he would prefer to set up a government supported by 61 MKs rather than go to the polls.

Shamir prefers to remain at the helm of the national unity government, at least to maintain economic stability. But the frustration of Shimon Peres's efforts for an international Middle East peace conference, which Shamir believes is withering but might be revived by early elections, remains the prime minister's paramount concern. Tehiya and Shas, breathing down the Likud's neck and threatening to join Labour's drive for early elections, may force the prime minister's hand.

### ANALYSIS

MENACHEM SHALEV

Labour leaders have repeatedly flashed the spectre of an "extremist religious-ultra nationalist" Likud-led government in order to offset their colleagues' demands for a unilateral departure from the coalition. However, Labour is slowly - but consistently - slipping in the polls, and party discontent is growing.

If the hoped-for majority favouring early elections is not achieved before the Knesset summer recess, Labour's leaders will be hard-put to persuade the party to remain in the government.

The Likud can now realistically count on the support of 61 MKs, excluding Meir Kahane, for a narrow coalition. These include their own 41, Tehiya's five, the National Religious Party's five, Shas's four, Agudat Yisrael's two and MKs Aharon Abuhatzira, Avraham Verdiger, Yigael Hurvitz and Shmuel Zaidan Atsche.

Shas's reaction to the defeat of the "Who is a Jew" bills was not what Labour had hoped for. In a meeting with Shamir yesterday, party leader Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz praised the

(Continued on Page 16)

## U.S. to protect Kuwaiti tankers despite attack

WASHINGTON. - The United States will begin protecting Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Gulf on schedule this month despite yesterday's attack off the Kuwait coast on a U.S. supertanker, Administration officials said.

Teheran yesterday reiterated its warning to Washington not to reflag the Kuwaiti tankers, saying the U.S. should use the stars and stripes to cover the coffins of American soldiers who die in the Gulf.

The American officials also said no retaliation was planned against Iran for the attack in which Iranian gunboats fired 18 rocket-propelled grenades into the 273,000-ton Peconic off Kuwait's al-Ahmedi oil terminal, setting it ablaze but not injuring any of the 40-man crew.

A Gulf-based marine salvage executive, said the Iranians also ranked the supertanker with machine-gun fire.

A crew member said in a ship-to-shore radio interview that the gunboat caught up with the Liberian-registered Peconic and "just opened fire. They gave no warning, did not ask where we were bound or where we were from," said the crewman, who refused to give his name.

In Washington, President Reagan's spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, deplored the attack and said it was another example of the need to

end the Iran-Iraq War.

Administration officials said Reagan's plan to put U.S. flags on 11 Kuwaiti tankers and protect them with U.S. Navy ships and jets, starting in mid-July, would not be slowed by a 90-day delay order voted by the House of Representatives yesterday.

Reagan's protection plan has met strong bipartisan opposition in Congress from members who fear the U.S. could be dragged into the war.

"What we are doing is playing recklessly and loosely with the lives of young Americans," said Democratic Congressman Ted Weiss. He warned that the Gulf could become "another Beirut," a reference to the 1983 suicide bombing of U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut which killed 241 Americans. Iran has warned it will not be deterred from attacking Kuwaiti vessels even if they fly the U.S. flag or are escorted by American warships.

"In order to ward off any future repercussions, perhaps one could advise the Reagan administration that in addition to 11 flags which are scheduled to be placed on Kuwaiti ships, it ought to prepare more flags to decorate the boxes containing the corpses of American military personnel who enter this perilous place," state-run Teheran radio said yesterday. (Reuters, AP, AFP)

## Yuli Edelshtein on his way

Jerusalem Post Staff

Yuli Edelshtein, the recently released Prisoner of Zion, has left the Soviet Union and is expected here on Sunday.

On his arrival in Vienna yesterday.



Yuli Edelshtein (right) with fellow former Prisoner of Zion Yosef Begun in Moscow recently. (Picture by courtesy of the Israel Public Council for Soviet Jewry)

day. Edelshtein spoke on the phone with Prime Minister Shamir, who told him that through his courage and perseverance he had overcome the obstacles in his path and was finally realizing his dream to emigrate to Israel.

Edelshtein thanked the government of Israel and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for helping to obtain his release.

Edelshtein, an observant Jew, was one of the leading activists and Hebrew teachers in Moscow until his arrest in 1984, at the age of 26. He was sentenced to three years in a Siberian labour camp on the false charge of possessing drugs.

In January 1986 he was seriously injured doing heavy construction work at the prison camp, receiving multiple fractures of his pelvis and hip, and a torn urethra. For many months, he did not receive proper medical care. His wife Tanya campaigned to bring his case to the world's attention.

## No sky left to scrape in New York

NEW YORK (Reuters). - A growing forest of skyscrapers has prompted warnings that parts of New York City are becoming a twilight zone where people on the streets can barely see the sky.

"We are getting very close to the point at which continued unchecked building creates real problems with

transportation, air quality and open space - the need to have light," said Eric Goldstein, a lawyer for the National Resources Defence Council environmental group.

The building boom in New York is something few could have predicted 15 years ago, when the city was on the verge of bankruptcy. Developers

and capital were then fleeing to points south, west and just about anywhere else.

But today New York is a construction workers' dream. Sixty-six buildings 35 stories or higher are going up in Manhattan alone, buildings commissioner Charles Smith said.

That means thousands of construction jobs, millions of dollars in profit for developers, tax revenues for the city and ample office space.

"New construction is a positive thing not a negative thing," said Robert McGrath, a spokesman for Mayor Edward Koch.

But it also creates a nuisance for people living and working nearby, hazards for the public - such as falling lumber which killed a pedestrian recently - and poses serious questions about the city's future.

Critics say views from street level of sun or sky are one of the most obvious casualties.

An example near Times Square is what some critics call the dark hole of West 45th Street - where a high-rise hotel arose across from a 30-storey office tower. One developer has called it "the deepest canyon this side of Arizona."

"The city is wide open,"

(Continued on Page 16)

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LONDON	10	11	17	Cloudy
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MILAN	10	11	17	Cloudy
MONTREAL	10	11	17	Cloudy
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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Clear  
Forecast for Shabbat: Slightly warmer.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	40	17-29	30
Golan	31	17-31	32
Nabatieh	4	21-29	29
Safed	—	—	29
Haifa Port	—	20-30	30
Tiberias	45	20-36	35
Nazareth	48	18-29	30
Afula	48	18-31	32
Shomron	53	18-30	31
Tel Aviv	59	20-29	28
B-G Airport	57	19-30	30
Jericho	29	20-38	37
Cairo	70	20-38	38
Beersheba	39	17-34	34
Eilat	21	26-39	39

## ARRIVALS

Love and Michael Goodstein, for dedication of the Emonah nursery in Jerusalem's Ramot neighbourhood on July 15.

## Airlines advance Sunday flights

By JONATHAN KARP  
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. — Airlines are advancing their Sunday departure times in order to take off before airport workers go on strike at 10 a.m. along with other employees in the public sector.

El Al has arranged for its 11 Sunday morning flights to leave early, and the airline has been informing travel agents and some 3,000 passengers accordingly, spokesman Nahman Kliezman said yesterday. Most El Al arrivals will not be affected by the eight-hour airport strike, he said, but one flight from New York has already been rescheduled to arrive at 6:15 in the evening, 15 minutes after Ben-Gurion is to reopen.

Kliezman noted that El Al should have no trouble operating all its flights on Sunday, traditionally the airline's busiest day, because the entire fleet will be available after not having flown the day before.

"In this case, the Sabbath helps us," he said.

## Two drown in T.A.

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A seven-year-old girl and an 18-year-old boy drowned off the beaches of Tel Aviv yesterday. The victims' names were not released.

The 18-year-old was pulled from the water off Gordon Beach, but attempts to revive him failed. The girl, from the Hatikva Quarter, drowned off Allenby Beach.

## Chief rabbi appeals to French clergy for Nakash

Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu yesterday appealed to French cardinals to intervene with President François Mitterrand on behalf of William Nakash, who faces extradition to France for murder.

In a telegram to the cardinals, Eliahu pointed out that Nakash's wife, Rina, was pregnant and that extradition would turn her into a "widow."

## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

# MK Shapira will head panel to find solution for farmers

By ANDY COURT  
For The Jerusalem Post

Knesset Finance Committee chairman Avraham Shapira (Agudat Yisrael) had some encouraging news yesterday for despairing farmers and Moshav Movement officials, who have been waiting for weeks for his panel to approve a plan for rescheduling massive moshav debts.

Shapira said that he would chair a subcommittee which would begin work next week to seek a speedy solution to the political impasse that has left thousands of family farmers — and their creditors — in limbo.

The subcommittee — composed of three Likud MKs, three Labour MKs, and two opposition MKs — "will sit night and day," and thus "won't need more than a few days" to reach some arrangement, Shapira pledged.

He also suggested that the sub-

committee might modify some of the recommendations of the Ravid committee's plan, although it was not clear how.

"The Finance Committee is not always a rubber stamp," Shapira said. "It wants to study, not the justice of the Ravid plan, but if the Ravid plan will save the moshavim."

He said that the MKs want to help the moshavim, "so that there will be something for them — not just for those who gave them the loans." He also suggested that creditors who charged exorbitant interest should have to "return it," thus reducing the overall size of the debt.

Gedalia Gal, secretary of the Moshav Movement, said he now sees "some light at the end of the tunnel." Although he does not expect the Finance Committee to depart radically from the Ravid plan, Gal holds out the hope that the

committee may lower the interest rate on the rescheduled loans from 8 per cent to 2 per cent, and possibly wipe out more of the overall debt.

The Ravid plan calls for a government-backed rescheduling of NIS 900 million in moshav debts at about 8 per cent interest. In addition, the banks, the Jewish Agency, the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division and other creditors agreed to wipe out NIS 300 million in debts.

The total aid package comes to about NIS 1.25b., but the Ravid plan also calls for important structural changes in the moshav system. The role of the moshav purchasing organizations will be revised and limited, for example, and some 2,600 families will stop farming altogether although they may continue to live in the moshavs.

## Shippers furious at report of deal Sharon allegedly made

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Israeli shipping community is up in arms over a report that the Industry and Trade Ministry has awarded an 18 month, \$3.5 million grain shipping contract to the Nakash brothers of New York.

Joe, Ralph and Avi Nakash, Israeli yordim who made a fortune in the U.S. with their Jordache jeans, have been personally acquainted with Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, at least since his protracted stay in New York three years ago during the hearing of his libel action against Time magazine.

The contract for the carrying of 180,000 tons of grain from the U.S. to Israel was eagerly sought by Israeli companies, which are short of work in the continuing shipping slump.

The Marine Officers' Union is taking a militant stand on the issue and yesterday insisted that "the ships Nakash will use to carry the grain be manned by Israelis to the last man, as stipulated by a Transport Ministry regulation governing the carrying of grain imported by the Industry and Trade Ministry."

Captain Yeshayahu Groman told The Jerusalem Post that he knew of four ships the Nakash brothers operate under flags of convenience, "and if they won't carry a full Israeli crew we'll prevent their unloading the grain in Israeli ports."

The contract, for 10 per cent of

Israel's annual grain imports, had been held for the past eight years by the Aaron Rosenfeld shipping company in Haifa, which carried the grain under the Israeli flag. After its last three-year contract ran out in June, the firm withdrew from the tender.

The Zim and El Yam companies each hold three year contracts for 20 per cent of the imports. The remaining 50 per cent is brought to Israel in ships flying the American flag under the 50-50 requirement of U.S. aid shipments.

Both El Yam and Zim and at least one other, smaller Israeli shipping company competed for the tender, which was to have been awarded on June 10. Since then the Ministry has put off publication of the bid it accepted, but the companies "unofficially" learned that the contract would go to the Nakash brothers.

Both El Yam and Zim invested millions of dollars to acquire 66,000 ton grain carriers to qualify for the ministry contract two years ago. The ministry insisted on the larger ships as a condition for the contracts in order to benefit from the economy of scale.

The ministry's foreign trade department, which handles the grain imports, declined to comment on the grounds that it must get clearance from the ministry's spokeswoman. She was contacted by The Post on Tuesday, but by yesterday had not provided any information.

## Herzliya mayor blocks traffic for 45 minutes as protest

NOF YAM (Itim). — A massive traffic jam on the coastal road was caused yesterday when Herzliya Mayor Eli Landau ordered two trucks and a tractor to block traffic for 45 minutes near the Nof Yam neighbourhood.

Landau said his action was in protest against the means used by the residents of Beit Jann to achieve their demands to cultivate land in the Mount Meron Nature Reserve.

Long lines of cars stretched in both directions from the obstruction and angry drivers were directed to side roads by traffic police.

When police asked the truck drivers for identification, Landau said that he took full responsibility for the blockade and that he brought the trucks there himself. Landau said he was willing to stand trial for his actions.

"I blocked the road in protest against the shameful behaviour of the Druse," Landau said. "I've never heard a Druse say *ibah al yahud* (death to the Jews) and have that taken lightly."

One of the police who arrived to direct traffic was Jamal Atila, a resident of Beit Jann.

In the deal worked out on Wednesday between a Druse delegation, Vice Premier Peres, and other government ministers, it was decided that Agriculture Minister Nebamkin will issue an order within two weeks to allow the villagers to cultivate their land, and that legislation will later be introduced to return the land to its original owners.

Nitzav Shaul Levi, the Northern District police chief, yesterday said that the Beit Jann rioters would be arrested.

Bea Meir said that he was sure some \$150m. a year could be taken from other budgets.

David Makovsky adds from Washington:

A Pentagon spokesman dismissed efforts to force an Israeli political compromise and salvage the development of the Lavi. The spokesman reiterated in strong terms U.S. opposition to the building of the plane, and said continuation of the project could possibly jeopardize Pentagon financing of Israeli projects.

## Vienna's envoy to Israel:

# 'The word "Nazi" is an insult in Austria'

## IN PERSON

BENNY MORRIS

"A large segment of Austrian public opinion does not understand why Israel has no ambassador in Vienna," says the man in the eye of the storm, Austrian ambassador to Tel Aviv, Otto Pleinert. "Certainly, if the situation continues, this will have some impact on Austrian public opinion" regarding Israel.

"There were, are, allegations against Waldheim. But they are not proven. So why is there no ambassador? It is also in Israel's interest to send an ambassador to Vienna," Dr. Pleinert says.

He denies firmly that Jews are now "molested in the streets of Vienna." But he agrees that the affair around the Austrian president has given rise to a spate of anti-Semitic incidents in Austria. He says it is not a new anti-Semitism, but the affair gives the opportunity to old anti-Semites "to express xenophobic tendencies in a shabby way." He notes with a measure of satisfaction that anti-Semitic attitudes are far stronger among the old and tend to decrease markedly among the young and better educated.

We talk in Pleinert's rather bare embassy office in central Tel Aviv. On the wall to the right of his desk hangs a large photo of the Austrian president. Beside it hangs a long, large map of Israel.

Pleinert talks as a diplomat, but the nature of Israeli-Austrian relations and the backdrop of the Holocaust touch the core of his being. "Always overshadowing our relations are the shadows of the past. In Austria," he tells me, "a *heshbon nefesh* (spiritual accounting) is going on about the role of the Jews as a minority in our history." He adds that it is the Austrians who must push for dialogue and friendship with Israel. He views his job here as "a mission," to try, however modestly, to help "build bridges" between the two peoples.

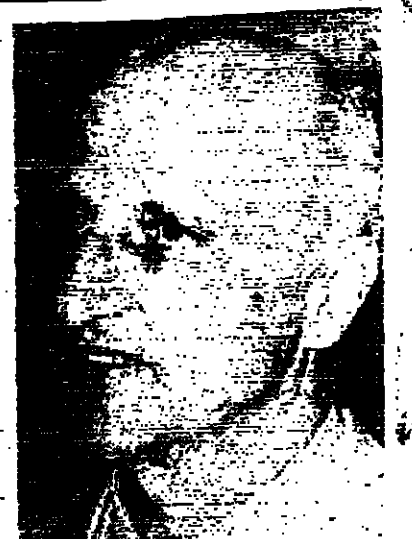
Pleinert was born in Yugoslavia in 1929 and grew up in Vienna. He was 15 in 1945, just missing the Wehrmacht's conscription.

## Egyptian seamen denied entry to Haifa

Jerusalem Post Staff

Egyptian seamen who arrive in Haifa on foreign ships are not given shore passes by the Israeli authorities, Israel Television reported last night.

A Cypriot ship docks here twice a week with 40 Egyptian sailors, but they are not allowed to disembark, the report said. No other nationals are treated this way.



Austrian Ambassador Otto Pleinert (Brian Hendler)

by the deputy secretary of the Justice Department, recently told Austrian officials that the U.S. does not regard Waldheim as "a war criminal." What they said, explains Pleinert, was that American law states that anyone who had been in "geographical proximity" to war crimes or had been organizationally "affiliated" with a unit that had committed war crimes must be placed on the "watch list" of persons to be barred from the U.S.

No, the prolonged absence of an Israeli ambassador in Vienna will not increase anti-Semitism. "But anti-Semitism could increase if voices from Israel label Austria as a Nazi country. The word 'Nazi' is an insult in Austria. Waldheim was elected as a Conservative, not as a Nazi or anti-Semite. All of Austria's leaders, including Waldheim, have in recent months declared that anti-Semitism must be fought until it vanishes," he says.

Pleinert has been here since 1981 and should by tradition of service have returned already to Vienna. It is unclear how much longer he will be staying. Vienna apparently is loath to recall him and, emulating Israel, leave only a chargé d'affaires in his place. On the other hand, the Austrians aren't eager, apparently, to replace him with a new ambassador — so long as Israel has not done likewise in Vienna and so long as Waldheim is under fire.

Austria apparently hopes that the commission of historians currently being organized by a Swiss professor to investigate the war crimes allegations against Waldheim will solve the problem one way or another.

"There is no Austrian on the commission, which, we hope, will reach conclusions by the end of the year. We hope that it will establish that there is no connection between Waldheim and war crimes."

Pleinert knows that the commission's conclusions, even if they completely clear Waldheim, "won't convince everyone. But they should, I hope, convince many people." In the West, Pleinert says, most people don't believe in the allegations against Waldheim.

He notes that a delegation of American official jurists, headed

by the deputy secretary of the Justice Department, recently told Austrian officials that the U.S. does not regard Waldheim as "a war criminal." What they said, explains Pleinert, was that American law states that anyone who had been in "geographical proximity" to war crimes or had been organizationally "affiliated" with a unit that had committed war crimes must be placed on the "watch list" of persons to be barred from the U.S.

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## LAVI

(Continued from Page One)

Failure by IAI to present a viable proposal to produce the plane could also cost the support of Shamir, Peres and possibly other ministers. It could be decisive as the cabinet seems to be evenly divided over the Lavi's future.

Shamir had challenged IAI to cut the cost of producing the aircraft, leave sufficient funds for other vital programmes and retain the plane's capabilities and rate of production.

Some IAI directors yesterday agreed that the IAI company was wasting too much money, but IAI Director-General Moshe Keret maintained that the company could not cut much more. "There's a limit," he said.

The major problem is the need to spend some \$1.3b. over the next three-and-a-half years on development and preparation of the production line.

Once that is done, the cost of producing the planes will be equal to the cost of acquiring U.S. made F-16Cs, the chairman of IAI's board of directors, Mordechai Hod, said yesterday.

Hod, said the Israel Air Force

spends a large part of its budget buying planes from the U.S. Billions of dollars will be spent in the future as well, and the directors would like to leave the money in Israel — and not invest it in the American aircraft industry.

Some directors warned that if the Lavi is grounded IAI will become just a "garage for airplanes" and nothing more than a "workshop."

Former deputy minister of finance Yehzekel Flumin suggested trying to raise money abroad and former deputy foreign minister Yehuda Ben-Meir suggested decreasing the standard of living to provide money for the Lavi.

Ben Meir said that he was sure some \$150m. a year could be taken from other budgets.

David Makovsky adds from Washington:

A Pentagon spokesman dismissed efforts to force an Israeli political compromise and salvage the development of the Lavi. The spokesman reiterated in strong terms U.S. opposition to the building of the plane, and said continuation of the project could possibly jeopardize Pentagon financing of Israeli projects.

We mourn the death of our beloved colleague and friend

## Rabbi Dr. AARON GREENBAUM ז"ל

and express condolences to his wife, children and family

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on the death of

## GAD ALON

President of Shenkar, a gifted leader — whom we all admired and loved.

On the first anniversary of the death of our beloved

## Dr. Sh. Y (Sika) RAGOLSKY ז"ל

friends and relatives will meet at the Kfar Samir Cemetery, Haifa (upper entrance) on Sunday, July 12, 1987, at 5 p.m.

On the second anniversary of the death of our dear

## ANNA DUNIETZ ז"ל

there will be a graveside memorial service at Kiryat Shaul Cemetery on Sunday, July 12, 1987 (15 Tammuz 5747) at 5 p.m.

We shall meet at the cemetery gate.

The Family

We share the grief of the family on the passing of

## ABRAHAM REICHLER ז"ל

(Retired company employee)

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The unveiling ceremony for

## BELLA KESSEL ז"ל

from Mexico will take place at Kfar Samir cemetery, Haifa, on Sunday, July 12, 1987, at 2:30 p.m.

We shall meet at the main entrance of the cemetery.

Miriam Pushkar and the family

On the thirtieth day after the passing of my beloved mother and mother-in-law, our dear grandmother

## HILDE WITROFSKY ז"ל

We will hold a tombstone unveiling service. We will meet at the old gate of the Holon cemetery, on Wednesday, July 15, 1987 at 3 p.m.

Ruth Dudi Fried and grandchildren

הנהלת האגודה

## North turns on his pursuers:

## 'Congress to blame for Iran-Contra affair'

WASHINGTON (AP). — Lt. Col. Oliver North, turning on his pursuers yesterday, said Congress should accept blame for the Iran-Contra affair. He also called the congressional hearings unfair and damaging to the national interest.

"Of one thing I am certain, is that you will not investigate yourself in this matter," he said to more than two dozen members of Congress awayed before him.

North said Congress must shoulder the blame for a "fickle, vacillating, unpredictable" policy toward the Nicaraguan rebels.

On Wednesday, North freely admitted lying to Congress about the

Contra supply operation he ran during a congressional ban on military aid to the rebels. He financed the operation by secretly selling arms to Iran, despite an arms embargo.

In a direct attack on the senators and representatives on the fact-finding panel, North likened their investigation to a grossly unfair sporting event.

"It's sort of like a baseball game in which you are both the player and the umpire," he said. "In the end, you determine the score and declare yourselves the winner."

Reading a lengthy preliminary statement, the U.S. Marine portrayed himself as a simple staff officer

during six years on the National Security Council staff.

"I did not engage in fantasy that I was the president or vice-president or cabinet member or even the director of the National Security Council," he said.

"I always acted on major matters with specific approval," he said. "My authority to act always flowed, I believe, from my superiors."

He claimed classified material has been exposed because of the hearings. But the chairman of the Senate panel defended the hearings as fair and said no national secrets had leaked as a result.

When North began answering

questions for the third day, he described Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government as a surrogate Soviet military operation.

"It was our assessment the Soviets were willing to give them anything necessary to win short of provoking an American military response," he said.

On Wednesday, North asserted there was widespread knowledge of his activities in support of the Contras at the highest levels of the U.S. government.

"He's given a number of people reason for some sleepless nights," said Republican Senator Warren Rudman.

North said Secretary of State George Shultz and his assistant, Elliott Abrams, knew in "sufficient detail" about his efforts on behalf of the Contras at a time when U.S. military aid was banned by law.

The State Department quickly issued a statement saying Shultz was not aware of North's specific activities in Central America.

North said Wednesday the original idea for diverting Iran arms sales profits to the Contras came from Iranian-born businessman Manucher Ghorbanifar. He said the CIA believed that Ghorbanifar, the middleman in the arms deals, was an Israeli intelligence agent.

## Violence returns to S. Korea

SEOUL (AFP). — South Korean riot police fired water cannon and tear gas at hundreds of thousands of demonstrators yesterday hours after President Chun Doo Hwan annulled more than 2,000 political opponents in a first, tentative step towards democracy.

In a day of high tension, violence returned to the streets eight days after Chun endorsed proposals for sweeping democratic reforms, while leading dissident Kim Dae Jung returned to political life after more than a decade of official oblivion.

Shortly after the amnesty, the first major street violence since the announcement of reforms erupted in Seoul and the southern city of Kwangju, with fierce clashes between riot police and people mourn-

ing student Lee Han Yol, killed by a tear gas grenade.

In Seoul the confrontation with police started after a peaceful march through the streets by thousands of students and opposition party members to mourn the death of the 20-year-old student, who died Sunday after 27 days in a coma.

The crowds peaked at an estimated 100,000 in City Hall Plaza while riot police kept off the streets. But by mid-afternoon here, a small group of students was marching behind a huge placard down a main street off the plaza when about 2,000 riot police appeared.

Most of the students sat down and sang. But the front ranks pushed against the police, who responded with volley after volley of acrid gas,

sending the crowds running and leaving the streets and plaza littered with abandoned banners.

The battles raged for two hours before the police stormed a nearby Anglican cathedral where some students were holed-up. They flushed them out with tear gas and arrested 30.

Riot police used water cannon and tear gas to disperse an angry crowd of about 100,000 people gathered in front of the provincial government building in Kwangju.

Student leaders had tried to calm the crowd, but the demonstrators sang forward repeatedly, ignoring the water cannons and trying to lower the building's national flag to half mast and raise a flag of mourning.



The former director of the Chernobyl nuclear plant, Viktor Bryukhanov (left) and former chief engineer, Nikolai Fomin (seated), two of the six defendants, attend their trial. (AFP)

## Chernobyl trial underlines drive against bungling

CHERNOBYL (AP). — An auditorium where folk dancers once performed is now the stage for fixing the blame in history's worst nuclear accident.

Six former officials and top technicians from the Chernobyl power plant, 18 kilometres north of the town of Chernobyl, entered the squat, columned House of Culture Tuesday to hear criminal charges read against them.

The defendants, including Chernobyl's former director Viktor P. Bryukhanov, are accused of blatant and repeated breaches of safety regulations that led to an explosion and fire at the power station during an unauthorized experiment April 26, 1986.

The blast in the No. 4 reactor blew apart the unit, shattered the building's roof and poured out radioactive matter which was eventually detected around the world. At least 31 people have died as a result of the disaster.

Since Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet leader in March 1985, he has waged a campaign against bureaucratic incompetence and irresponsibility, warning officials at all levels that they must answer for their actions.

The image given to the Soviet public of the Chernobyl trial was in line with that campaign. State-run media reported that an investigatory commission blamed the disaster on flouting safety regulations and official irresponsibility and inaction.

The first day's proceedings were shown, nation-wide, on an evening

## Behind closed doors

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The trial of six men accused of responsibility for the Chernobyl nuclear accident will continue behind closed doors, Moscow Radio said yesterday.

A virtual news blackout on the proceedings continued, with no details published in the Soviet press.

television news programme. But the fact is that all six defendants pleaded not guilty to at least some of the accusations against them, was not mentioned.

Also not reported was the contention by at least two defendants, former chief engineer Nikolai Fomin and his aide Anatoly Dyatlov, that the design and construction of the 1,000-megawatt reactor played a part in the accident.

The importance accorded the Chernobyl trial was signalled by the dispatching of a Soviet Supreme Court judge to hear the case and invitations extended to foreign reporters to attend the first day of the proceedings.

Among the 150 people who packed the eight rows of straight-backed chairs were workers from the power station.

## Opposition South Africans meet ANC

DAKAR, Senegal (AP). — Opposition South African politicians opened talks yesterday with black guerrillas from the African National Congress on a post-apartheid future for their country.

"We view it as a matter of importance that our white compatriots are joining the struggle," ANC delegation head Thabo Mbeki said in an opening speech.

"The ANC is committed to a further escalation of the political and military struggle against the regime" of South African President P.W. Botha, Mbeki said.

"No solution is possible for a peaceful future without (the ANC's) participation," said Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Par-

ty and a chief organizer of the three-day conference.

Participating in the meetings with the 15-member ANC delegation are about 60 white South Africans, mostly of Afrikaner descent, and two "coloureds," as people of mixed race are known in South Africa.

It is the largest meeting ever between white South Africans and the banned black guerrilla movement.

## Marcos plot to capture Aquino

WASHINGTON (AFP). — Former Philippines president Ferdinand Marcos allegedly plotted a military operation to overthrow President Corason Aquino's government and take her hostage, *The Washington Post* reported yesterday.

Wednesday, the U.S. government moved to restrict Marcos to the Hawaiian island of Oahu, where he

lives in exile, and warned him against trying to destabilize the Manila government, the State Department announced.

The information on the alleged attempts to overthrow the Philippine president came from tape recordings of Marcos talking to a man posing as an arms dealer.

"I am going to land there [in the

Philippines]. I don't care who opposes me... and if they oppose the landing, that is when we start the battle," *The Post* quoted one tape as saying.

Information obtained by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific indicates Marcos's return was planned for today and that he hoped to link up with a 10,000-member force ready to support him in the Philippines, the newspaper said.

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WASHINGTON (Reuters). — Ousted Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos claims to have 1,000 tons of gold worth \$14 billion hidden in his home-land, a congressional hearing was told yesterday.

The gold, if recovered by the Philippine government, would pay over half the country's \$27b. foreign debt.

A transcript of the tapes indicated Marcos sought to purchase tanks, anti-tank weapons, Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, grenade launchers, 50-calibre machine-guns and 8,000 M-16 rifles, *The Post* said.

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## FOREIGN BRIEFS

## Austrian party opposes anti-Semitism

VIENNA. — The Christian-conservative People Party of Austria, which instrumented anti-Semitic feelings to win an election, the presidency for Kurt Waldheim, yesterday passed a resolution condemning any kind of anti-Semitic manifestations.

"Forty-two years after the slanderous murdering of Jews, we call upon the Austrian citizens to fight with us against any kind of anti-Semitism. We have proved in the past our openness, liberality and solidarity with refugees and persecuted people and we will not risk those values, which we have sworn to obey," said Dr. Michael Graff, general secretary.

In reference to party colleague, Carl Hoedl, vice-mayor of Linz, who in a letter to Edgar Bronfman of the WJC, compared the Jewish campaign against Waldheim to the crucifixion of Jesus, Graff said he will not call for his resignation. "I was the first one to condemn his letter. In the meantime, the city council has condemned the affair and Hoedl has voted also against anti-Semitism."

## Kurdish rebels slay 20 villagers near Syria

MARDIN, Turkey (AFP). — Kurdish rebels attacked two southeastern Turkish villages, killing at least 20 people and torching homes, the Anatolia News Agency reported, days before a state of siege was due to be lifted in the province.

The killings on Wednesday were the latest in a series of attacks in this area bordering Syria which observers say are causing rising concern to the Turkish government.

## South Africa not to blame for Machel crash

JOHANNESBURG (AFP). — South Africa was not to blame for the air crash in which Mozambican president Samora Machel and 34 others were killed on South African soil on October 19, a report by a commission of inquiry said yesterday.

The Margo Commission, consisting of six international air and legal experts, said in their report that flight crew error caused the crash.

The commission's main finding was that the flight crew had failed to follow procedural requirements for an instrument let-down approach. They had descended in darkness without having any visual contact with the ground below and had ignored the ground-proximity warning system alarm, the report said.

## Jerash site of Jordan's cultural showpiece

JERASH, Jordan (Reuters). — Circassian sword-dancers leap across the ancient stones of this Greco-Roman city as Jordan's cultural festival, among the best known in the Arab world, gets under way.

For the next three weeks, up to 200,000 people will visit Jerash, 40 km. north of Amman, with Chinese acrobats, Spanish flamenco dancers, Egyptian singers and Polish puppeteers among troupes from 17 nations to entertain them.

Army bagpipers warmed up Wednesday night's invited audience before King Hussein lit a symbolic flame to open the annual festival, brainchild of his American-born wife Queen Noor.

## Israel supported on war crimes files

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

UNITED NATIONS. — A majority of member countries of the defunct UN War Crimes Commission now support the idea of providing the general public with greater access to the UN war crimes files, the Israeli mission here has announced.

Eyal Arad, spokesman for Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, announced that five more former member countries of the 17-member commission — China, Norway, New Zealand, Belgium and Luxembourg — have joined Australia, the U.S., Yugoslavia, Netherlands, Greece and Denmark in supporting a more liberal policy of allowing non-government organizations and individuals freer access to the files.

Franco's Guillani, spokesman for Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, has acknowledged "in general the countries are inclined to some modification of the rules on access" to the 40,000 files of convicted and suspected war criminals, including former UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim. Guillani said that Perez de Cuellar will consult with each of the 17 countries in September to draft new rules.

At present, the UN will open the files only upon official requests of member governments, and not by individuals or non-governmental organizations.

Netanyahu hailed Perez de Cuellar's call for new consultations as "a step in the right direction," adding, "We believe that the secretary-general will ultimately decide to open the files completely."

**Cantors Assembly announces**

**Concerts of Hazzanut**

on Saturday evening, July 11, in Jerusalem and Sunday, July 12, in Tel Aviv, have been sold out.

Tickets are available for the

**Sharansky Musical Tribute**

on Sunday evening, July 19 and for other events at the Cantors Assembly Convention Centre, Hotel Lorraine, Tel. 697777.



# The cantors come to Zion

By GREER FAY CASHMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Cantors' Assembly, the world's largest association of *hazanim*, was all set to celebrate its 40th anniversary in the Catskills in upstate New York, when an urgent call came through to the Jews of America from President Herzog and Tourism Minister Avraham Shafir. Concerned by the sharp downward trend in tourism from the U.S. after the Achille Lauro hijacking, they had issued a plea to Jewish organizations to hold their conferences and conventions in Israel.

To the 400-plus members of the Cantors' Assembly, who face Jerusalem while they pray and sing the city's praises, this was an appeal that could not be ignored.

The upshot is that the cantors did not forget Jerusalem, and the organization's 40th annual convention opened last night at the Knesset. About 1,000 participants — 734 of them from the U.S. — had registered by yesterday afternoon.

There may also be an influx of non-affiliates from among *hazanim* of 148 European congregations to whom invitations were sent. The unaffiliated participants include Cantor David Sevi of the Neveh Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul, which last September was attacked by terrorists who slaughtered 22 worshippers attending Sabbath services.

The Cantors' Assembly has members in congregations in Canada, Sweden, Australia, Argentina and Israel. Germany will soon be included in the list, following a request from the Jewish community of Hamburg.

In America's Conservative Movement, there are 800 congregations — far more than the Cantors' Assembly is able to service on a regular basis. Over the past year, more than 50

congregations were offering jobs to a full-time *hazan*, and in half those congregations the position is still vacant.

Before World War II, being a cantor in America was akin to moonlighting. Poor immigrants with good voices laboured in sweat-shops during the week and were star performers on Saturdays, at Seders and on High Holy Days. But in 1947, with the establishment of the Cantors' Assembly, people became increasingly aware that *hazanut* was a full-time profession. "Cantors don't sing all the time," says Solomon Mendelson, the president-elect of the assembly. "We also do pastoral work and educational work, and we're fully involved with the congregation seven days a week."

Some years before his death in 1975, the well-known tenor and cantor Richard Tucker applied to join the Cantors' Assembly. His application was rejected because he was not a full-time cantor. Several of the executive members of the body had grown up with Tucker and had never severed the bonds of friendship. Nonetheless, they refused to bend the rules for either Tucker or his equally famous brother-in-law, Jan Peerce. Neither was a full-time cantor, which rendered them ineligible for membership.

The Cantors' Assembly is dedicated to the preservation and propagation of Jewish music. For the past 20 years it has published the *Journal of Synagogue Music*, and it also commissions new liturgical works. Two such works — "A Time for Freedom," based on the trial of Anatoly Sharansky, and "I Never Saw Another Butterfly," a memorial tribute to the thousands of children who passed through Theresienstadt on their way to Auschwitz — will be performed at the Jerusalem Theatre on Sunday, July 19.

## Chinese ceramics on show at Israel Museum

By MEIR RONNEN  
Post Art Editor

A stunning array of some 350 priceless Chinese ceramics from the collection of the late Dr. Arthur M. Sackler was unveiled at the Israel Museum yesterday afternoon, the first time that this particular collection has been seen almost in its entirety.

Entitled "3500 Years of Chinese Art," the collection has till now been held in the Manhattan storerooms of what is known as the "Sackler Enclave," in the cellars of the New York Metropolitan Museum, to which Sackler had given many other examples of Chinese art.

Sackler, a research psychiatrist who was one of America's leading collectors and philanthropists with holdings in the tens of thousands covering almost every art field, died of a heart attack last May, aged 73. He had planned to attend yesterday's opening, according to Lois Katz, the administrator of the Sackler Collections, who was instrumental in bringing the exhibition here. The items, which range from neolithic times to the end of the Yuan period in the 14th century, arrived together with their own showcases.

Sackler was a multi-millionaire who made a fortune in medical advertising and trade publications, as well as in the over-the-counter drugs. He recently gave 1,000 items of Asian and Near East art to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington and \$4m. for a special museum to house them; it will open this autumn. He was the main donor of the new museum at Harvard bearing his



A fierce guardian against evil spirits, one of the exhibits in the Sackler collection.

(Courtesy of the Israel Museum)

name; and another Sackler Museum is now going up at Beijing University.

Yesterday's opening was attended by Japanese Ambassador Koichi Tsutsumi and members of his embassy, who take a keen interest in Chinese art. The exhibit will be on view till early November.

## 2,080-member Central Committee meets Sunday

# Herut factions square off

By MENACHEM SHALEV

The days when former Herut chairman Menachem Begin would hand-pick nominees for his party's institutions, and then present his choice to Herut functionaries as a *fait accompli*, are long past.

In April, Herut finally succeeded in opening — and peacefully closing — its party convention. But since then efforts to set up other institutions have been bogged down in a myriad of party rivalries.

In April, the convention's 2,080 delegates appointed themselves to serve as the party's central committee. The committee will meet for the first time in Jerusalem on Sunday, but will refrain from carrying out its most important task, the election of a party executive.

A tentative list of 120 candidates for the executive, drawn up by MK Michael Dekel at the request of Prime Minister Shamir, has been greeted with scorn and rejected in most quarters of Herut. The central committee is therefore expected only to approve a doubling of the executive's membership to 240 or more, and will probably appoint a committee to propose a new list of candidates.

Dekel's list consisted mainly of Herut office-holders: ministers, MKs, ministry directors-general, directors of government-owned companies, members of the Jewish Agency Executive and so on. Only a fifth of the proposed slots were earmarked for the local party branches.

The branches rebelled, claiming that they were the party's real power wielders and workhorses. Herut's women, who claimed that they constituted over 50 per cent of the party's electorate, soon followed suit. Dekel's list included only six women, among them his daughter and his secretary.

The Herut women flexed some newly-found political

muscle in Tel Aviv this week, and decided to make do with a "minimalistic" demand — 25 per cent of the executive.

The younger members of Herut, not to be left behind, met in Tel Aviv yesterday and demanded their own piece of the pie, citing the predominance of younger age groups among Herut's electorate. The newly-elected central committee chairman, Minister Ariel Sharon, wants a quiet committee meeting and could do without an executive altogether.

Currently, the committee serves as the only address for crucial party decisions. But its large membership, more than doubled at April's convention, makes it an unwieldy and cumbersome tool which would be cast aside in times of crisis in favour of the smaller executive. One of the prime reasons for the delay in the committee meeting was the unsuccessful attempt to secure an auditorium large enough to accommodate over 2,000 delegates and their cars.

Another Shamir rival, Deputy Premier David Levy, is also not too keen about a new executive, headed by Shamir, although its enlargement to 240 members is said to work in his favour. The executive elects the all-powerful secretariat, the Herut "government" that controls finances, membership, municipal affairs, etc.

Since the convention, secretariat chairman Moshe Arens has been holding weekly meetings, of the old secretariat, dominated by many Levy supporters.

Arens and Shamir want a new secretariat elected; and their main target for replacement is said to be MK Misha Reiser, a Levy candidate who currently heads the secretariat's most powerful arm, the organization division, which registers new Herut members and convention delegates.

## 'Greens' movement plans to put down roots

By JUDY SIEGEL

Post Science and Health Reporter

ENVIRONMENTAL activists led by former MK Yosef Tamir, are establishing a new movement that they hope will fight for an improved quality of life and run candidates for the Knesset and the municipalities in two or three years' time.

Tamir, who was for years chairman of the Knesset Interior Committee, and for decades involved in the fight against pollution, revealed this to

The Jerusalem Post on Wednesday. A founding convention is planned for this winter, and membership will be on an individual, not an organizational basis.

The non-political movement will be devoted to some of the topics being promoted by the Greens party in West Germany and elsewhere in Europe, said Tamir, but it will have nothing to do with radical politics. Nor will it deal with nuclear power projects.

Unwilling at this point to name

prominent activists, Tamir said "they are all good, serious people." Tamir bemoaned the fact that politicians, unlike the public, show only negligible interest in the environment.

"Our movement will fight to protect the human environment, to raise the quality of life in Israel and to prevent pollution," he promised.

Anyone interested in the new movement may write to the former MK at POB 14078 Tel Aviv, Zip code 61140.

## Announcement to El-Al Passengers

Because of the public sector strike taking place in Israel on Sunday, July 12, the following changes have been made in the departure times of El-Al Israel Airline flights out of Ben-Gurion Airport:

LY 005 to New York and Los Angeles	00.30	no change
LY 363 to Vienna	01.00	advanced
LY 009 to Montreal/Toronto/Chicago	01.55	no change
LY 353 to Munich	02.30	advanced
LY 337 to Amsterdam	03.00	advanced
LY 357 to Frankfurt	03.30	advanced
LY 5341 to Basel	03.55	no change
LY 331 to Brussels	04.30	advanced
LY 345 to Geneva	05.00	advanced
LY 377 to Copenhagen	05.30	advanced
LY 315 to London	08.00	advanced
LY 347 to Zurich	08.30	advanced
LY 385 to Rome	09.00	advanced
LY 323 to Paris	09.00	advanced
LY 015 to London and New York	09.30	no change
LY 317 to London	20.15	postponed
LY 381 to Rome	22.20	postponed
LY 321 to Marseilles	22.40	postponed
LY 443 to Cairo	23.59	

In view of the heavy traffic expected at Ben-Gurion Airport, passengers are recommended to report for their flights 2½ hours before departure time.

We regret the inconvenience resulting from these changes.

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### Parking at Ben-Gurion Airport

The car parks at Ben-Gurion Airport are intended for use by drivers who wish to leave their vehicles for short periods (up to 24 hours).

Parking at the airport for periods of longer than 24 hours can be arranged by application to the parking office.

A vehicle left for more than 24 hours, and for which such an arrangement has not been made

**will be towed away.**

The operation of the car parks (including the towing away of vehicles) is in accordance with Israel Airports Authority Regulations (Parking of Vehicles at Ben-Gurion Airport — 1984).

## Palestinian activist ends three-month detention

# Husseini is 'undeterred'

By JOEL GREENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Palestinian activist Faisal Husseini, freed after three months in administrative detention, vowed yesterday to redouble his political activities "within the boundaries of the law."

Wearing a blue track suit, and looking thinner after a self-imposed diet and exercise regimen in jail, Husseini, 46, received a stream of supporters at the Orient House Hotel in East Jerusalem, near the Arab Studies Society he heads.

Husseini, no longer under a restriction order compelling him to be home by sunset and report weekly to the police, said he spent most of his time in jail reading books, including *Fateful Decisions* by political philosopher Yehoshafat Harkabi.

Husseini was jailed April 12 in the wake of arrests that followed the fire-bomb killing of Ofra Moses near the Alfei Menashe settlement. He was accused of being a leading PLO activist and organizing demonstrations and disturbances in the West Bank, and placed in administrative detention for six months. But his term was halved by a Jerusalem Magistrates' Court judge about a month after his arrest. The judge took this step after seeing material against Husseini that was confiscated from the offices of the Arab Studies Society, and after viewing a secret file against him.

Husseini was held at the Russian Compound lock-up in Jerusalem, and later at Ramle prison.

He said yesterday that his imprisonment would not deter him from continuing his political activities. "The arrest will not make me think



Faisal Husseini grins after his release from jail. (Dan Landau)

twice before acting. On the contrary, I will redouble my activities, working within the law," he said. Husseini said he would act through the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist, a Jewish-Arab group which has organized protests against Israeli security policies in the territories.

"Any attempt to re-arrest me will not be because of actions I took outside the law, but because of ideas expressed openly which terrify the Israeli occupation authorities," he said.

Husseini said he and his lawyers were able to refute the evidence against him based on documents seized at his offices, and could also have disproved secret evidence, had

they been permitted to see it.

He denied that his arrest had reduced unrest in the territories, noting that disturbances continued after his imprisonment. "I don't think individuals can move the masses," he said. "In our area we see a series of separate uprisings... but if the occupation continues, the uprisings will grow more frequent, until they reach the point of continuous revolution."

Husseini evaded direct condemnation of recent terror attacks in the territories, including the attack on the Moses family which led to his arrest. He said that while he felt pain over the killings, they were the fault of Israel's illegal policy of moving its civilians into occupied territories. The policy had blurred Palestinian distinctions between settlers and soldiers, and led to clashes in which both Palestinian and Israeli civilians were killed, he said.

Husseini dismissed the proposal by Al Fajr editor Hanna Sinjora to run for the Jerusalem city council. "This is a politically naive idea, which will die of its own accord," he said.

## Peres sends birthday gift to Hassan

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres sent Morocco's King Hassan II a mother-of-pearl-inlaid volume of the Koran to mark the monarch's 58th birthday, a ministry official said yesterday.

Peres's messenger was Lillian Shalom, an American Jew of Moroccan descent who visits Israel frequently. When Peres was prime minister last year, he made a historic trip to Morocco for two days for talks with Hassan on the Middle East peace process.

Meanwhile, Labour Party MK Rafi Edri has arrived in Rabat to take part in celebrations marking the king's birthday. Although Israel and Morocco have no diplomatic relations, this is the third consecutive year that the king has invited prominent Moroccan-born Israelis to attend the festivities.

MIRAGE — France resumed delivery of Mirage 2000 jet fighters to Egypt yesterday after a three-month suspension over payment delays. Defence Minister Abdel-Halim abu Ghazala said in Cairo.

## Israel Airports Authority Ben-Gurion Airport

Because of a labour dispute, Ben-Gurion Airport will not operate on Sunday, July 12, between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. Passengers scheduled to depart on flights leaving on Sunday are requested to contact the office of the airline on which they are booked to fly, to obtain information on the amended departure times of their flights.

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Jacques Vergès (AFP)

"The lawyers of Klaus Barbie put the whole anti-racist struggle at the service of a man who carried racist ideology to its most horrible conclusions". Michel Zlotowski reports.

## Red herrings in Lyon

"THE ONLY LESSON to be drawn from this trial is that no concessions whatsoever should be made to those in the Third World who act like the lawyers of Barbie did," said the young French philosopher and writer Alain Finkielkraut who sat through most of the proceedings during the Klaus Barbie trial in Lyon.

Even before the trial began, Finkielkraut had expressed doubts about its expected impact. He told *The Jerusalem Post* this week, but added, "The main purpose of a trial is not educational. Justice and education have their own different ways. But I was by no means opposed to the Barbie trial. How could someone oppose justice? Crimes against humanity cannot, by definition, be written off. It was quite in order for a man accused of such crimes to be tried even 40 years after the events. Anyway, justice is not a matter for opinion polls."

Thirty-eight-year-old Finkielkraut made his literary name with his book *Le Nouveau Desordre Amoureux* in 1979. He has written several books on Jews, the Holocaust and Israel, in addition to his philosophical writings, and was last year awarded the prize of the Found-

ation of French Judaism. His views on the trial and on the way it was covered by the press were widely reported.

"Some of the French journalists who covered the Barbie trial exceeded their role," charged Finkielkraut. "They started their own trial out of court, interviewing Barbie's lawyer Jacques Vergès at length on a national radio network, the day before the prosecutor was to sum up, thus compelling the prosecution to answer Vergès's arguments. This was totally unfair, since in the French courts, no one can speak after the defence."

"The press spoke about 'a trial for the sake of memory.' But by definition, the press doesn't give a damn about memory, since its only object is actuality."

"This is why Jacques Vergès was so important to the press, for he was producing something the media craved. The civil plaintiffs had nothing of the kind to offer, since memory is something that doesn't change. Vergès meant suspense."

Finkielkraut called the conduct of Barbie's defence lawyers, Jacques Vergès, Martin M'Bemba of the Congo and Nabil Bouaita of Algeria,



Nabil Bouaita and Martin M'Bemba talk to journalists outside Lyon court. (AFP)

"the ultimate catastrophe of this trial."

"It was horrible and totally unbearable that a Nazi was defended by lawyers who claimed they were speaking in the name of the blacks and the Arabs, by Vergès, who was speaking in the name of his Chinese ancestry and by a Bolivian representing another non-European continent."

"SOMETHING REALLY did go wrong. Can anyone imagine what would have happened if Goering and the others had picked a black and an Arab as counsels in Nuremberg, in 1945?"

"Nobody really reacted to this. People said 'Well, Vergès did it again. It was a clever trick to extend the notion of crime against humanity to what happened in the Third World. Those peoples, after all, have suffered so much'."

"But," continued Finkielkraut, "did they suffer because the Jews were victims of the Nazis? It was all total nonsense."

"For a Nazi, there are the Aryans on the one side, the *untersmenschen* on the other, and then the Jews who constitute an anti-race that has to be eradicated. And here comes a black saying that he is - as a black - defending Klaus Barbie! It would have been entirely different and quite in order had M'Bemba said: 'I am a black lawyer, and as a lawyer, I will assume Barbie's defence.' But he said that he was defending Barbie because as a black, he had suffered from white colonization!"

"M'Bemba also argued in substance: Look, Barbie shook my hand, the hand of a black, of an absolute victim. He is not dangerous any more since he treated me as a man. He should then go free."

What Finkielkraut finds so objectionable is that this move could be perpetrated without eliciting any protest. "How could the Third World cause, the anti-racist struggle go so far astray?" he asks.

"Martin M'Bemba put the whole anti-racist struggle at the service of a

man who carried racist ideology to its most horrible conclusions."

"What Barbie's lawyers did, including Jacques Vergès himself, was frantic propaganda, true to the spirit of Goebbels; in other words: 'Let's lie, but not cunningly. Let's do it shamelessly. Let's overdo it. The more we lie, the more credibility we'll gain.'"

"They did this in a French court. And this is what is being stressed in Algeria and in radical Third World countries. What kind of humanity is going to emerge from such propaganda?"

The French writer said it was becoming evident that a whole portion of humanity has severed its links with history and reality.

"It scares me that in many parts of the world people are saying that what happened in Sabra and Shatila was worse than Auschwitz."

"What the Algerian lawyer Bouaita said in court about the 'process of nazification of the Jewish people of Algeria,' was not considered shocking in Algeria or in the Soviet Union," said Finkielkraut. "In any case, it is peanuts compared to what is being said every day at UNESCO."

"Many Algerians are proud that such words have been said in a French court. They even perceive it as progress from the ideological and humanitarian point of view."

Finkielkraut noted that other trends and opinions exist in the Third World. "But," he said, "we do not do much to help them. Instead, Western intellectuals claim that one should try to understand the radicals because of their past sufferings. But how can this kind of discourse make sense when these people put their sufferings at the service of exonerating a Nazi? It is an indehible stain on their cause."

Of course, stressed Finkielkraut, this doesn't mean one has to forget what white colonialism has done.

"Colonialism has committed a number of atrocities, but one cannot exculpate a Nazi with the help of those memories."

## The best of friends

ALL THOSE stories about tense relations between Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering are dismissed as "totally untrue" by reliable sources in Shamir's entourage. Any resentment about the American envoy's reported role in contacts between Jordan's King Hussein and Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has evaporated, I was told.

Some might wonder whether the Likud leader was seeking to divert media attention from Peres's "keep-the-peace-initiative-alive" trip yesterday to Geneva, where apart from Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, there were VIPs from places like Russia, China and Yugoslavia for him to see. While Peres enjoys French President François Mitterrand's backing it seems the other half of the cohabitation regime leans the other way. I'm told Shamir was pleased with French Premier-Jacques Chirac's statement this week to *Le Monde* that "We won't follow the U.S. on the international conference issue, as long as Israel remains divided."

There were certainly only signs of friendship when Shamir and Peres, plus at least another 1,500 guests, joined Pickering in his toast - in Hebrew - to U.S.-Israel amity at the 21st American Independence Day party in his sea-front garden.

Alice Pickering was very busy overseeing the party and greeting Israel's "Who's Who," for whom an invitation has become a status symbol. Shamir was so much at ease that he agreed to be photographed with a row of embassy Marines in dress uniform. Peres talked to members of the diplomatic corps and Deputy Premier and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon made Pickering happy praising his command of Hebrew.

The ambassador was overheard asking Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman: "Are you going to Moscow?" getting the reply: "I'm not going until I get the phone number of your embassy there." Someone said it is not often one gathers together people like Social Affairs Minister Moshe Katsav and Economics and Communications Minister Gad Ya'acobi, Likud Knesset faction head Haim Kautzman and Labour MK Nava Arad, Bank of Israel Governor Michael Bruno, Agudat Yisrael's Knesset Finance Committee chairman Avraham Shapiro, CGS Rav-Aluf Dan Shomron and his deputy Aluf Eyal Barak.

When Finance Minister Moshe Nissim heard from Histadrut spokesman Shmuel Solar that Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar had been obliged to miss the party due to a prior commitment, he remarked: "What a pity! We might have settled the wage talks tonight in this relaxed atmosphere."

UJA leader Steve Shalom and his wife Liliane, a World Sephardi Federation head, were at the centre of the party's attention. She told me they're soon flying to Morocco, her country of origin. They're due to have an audience with King Hassan, who recently bestowed upon her the title of Commander of an exclusive 14th century order via his Washington ambassador - the first woman and the first Jew to be so honoured. She says the Moslem monarch is intent on pursuing the peace process and is working for a Middle East common market.

I'M TOLD THAT as long as there's a slim chance of getting a Knesset majority for early elections, Peres won't co-opt anyone to the cabinet seat left vacant by Professor Amnon Rubinstein. That means that such hopefuls as MKs Simcha Dinitz and Micha Harish may have to wait patiently.

Wonder if anyone's listening to Ometz No. 2 ex-MK and banker Zalman Shoval's warning that the thousand-fold increase in U.S. aid since 1967 - from \$3 million to \$3 billion - is sapping Israel's spirit of



THOMAS PICKERING



MOSHE KATSAV

independence. "Too many politicians think there's no need to cut expenses - and that Uncle Sam will always foot the bill," he charges.

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin nodded his head in agreement, when Gad Ya'acobi - just back from Washington where he signed the VOA agreement - warned his fellow ministers agonizing yet again this week over the Lavi project, that to believe the U.S. will adjust its economic aid on the basis of Israel's decision on the project was "as if the tail wags the elephant and not vice-versa."

Ya'acobi returned home with a gloomy report on feelings among leading U.S. Jews, relating for example, that when paying a condolence on Kenneth Bialkin (who was sitting *shiva* at his New York home after his father's death) he heard from Isaac Stern that "I'm really worried for the first time about Israel's future. From here we only see a country that is divided without direction."

Simcha Dinitz, for his part, reported little change in Jewish attitudes on returning from an Israel Bonds speaking tour. While in Washington, the former ambassador met such top people as Vice-President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz, gaining the impression that "the peace initiative is very much alive." When talking to a number of congressmen, one asked him "You have two governments, and we have none. Can we borrow one of yours?" with Dinitz asking: "Which?"

When Shamir met a group of top U.S. academics, he was told by Harvard professor Gary Orren of worrisome surveys indicating that where as young American non-Jews feel friendlier towards Israel than the elders, their Jewish peers were more alienated than their parents. The premier welcomed home one of the group, Washington economic expert Dr. Howard Rosen, who is about to settle in Jerusalem and join the Bank of Israel's research department.

After an interview with an Italian (RAI) TV crew, Shamir was asked off camera why he was so critical of Pope John Paul II for receiving Austrian President Kurt Waldheim. Shamir remarked: "I've nothing

against the pope and whom he meets. He can receive Cicciolina if he wishes but Waldheim's case has historical implications."

AIDES OF AGUDAT Yisrael's Avraham Shapiro say he was "the real victim" of the general Knesset mobilization over Shas's conversion procedure bill and the NRP's "Who is a Jew" amendment, because he was unable to fly to Sao Paulo to attend the *brita mila* of his new grandson, Rikie - the wife of his fourth son Elimelech, wished to be with her parents when she gave birth.

Italian film star Marcello Mastroianni came, saw and certainly conquered the Jerusalem film festival, contending: "Women who say I'm a sex symbol have never seen my films. I'm no Clark Gable or Marlon Brando. I always play a weakling in need of protection, and in one film I even acted the role of a pregnant man."

For over 18 years Vera Golovinsky was director of our consulate-general in New York and the address for many Israelis visiting Manhattan. This week she came on aliya to Jerusalem with lawyer husband Joel and their children. He is already hard at work studying for the Israel Bar and she's about to join the Dan Hotel chain in an executive capacity.

Four of the consuls-general she served with - Rehavam Amir, Uri Ben-Ari, Paul Kedar and Naftali Lavie were on hand at the welcoming party held by Lavie and his wife Joan at their Jerusalem home this week. Among the others greeting her there were cabinet secretary Elyakim Rubinstein, Knesset Interior committee chairman Dov Shilansky, Ehad Olmert, David Kolitz, Azarya Rapoport, plus such foreign ministry staffers as Colette Avital, Ehad Goll, Uri Bar-Ner, and Arye Dulin. MK Dan Meridor and Ambassador to the UN, Binjamin (Bibi) Netanyahu.

ONE HIGHLIGHT of the recent reunion here of some 60 American seamen who manned Aliya Bet "illegal" immigrant ships brought about by Murray Greenfield - was undoubtedly the party given by Paul and Rose Shulman at their home in the Ahuva district of Haifa. As his wife showed her prowess as a hostess, Shulman - the Israel Navy's first commander - reminisced with other American volunteers like Exodus commander Ike Aharonowitz and his successors as navy commanders "Mocca" Limon, Ze'ev Almog and Shlomo Harel, about their efforts to bring in thousands of immigrants. Shulman told me that 40 of the 240 American seamen volunteers had eventually settled here.

One of them, painter Sonny Weintraub who served on the *Henikva*, complained that the death of a young Californian volunteer Bill Bernstein aboard the Exodus, where he was bludgeoned to death by the British, had been neglected. "Why hasn't he ever been commemorated? Why is his burial place in a Haifa cemetery unknown? Why did the authors of *Pillar of Fire* mention him as one of the three Exodus immigrants killed by the British, and not specify his real origin?"

CAPTAINS OF the economy like Cial chief Abraham Dovrat, Bank Hapoalim general manager Amiram Sivan, Polgar chairman Yisrael Polack, builder Alfred Akirov and economics professor Haim Ben-Shachar came for lunch to the Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv, at the invitation of The International Centre for Peace in the Middle East to hear about The Impact of Peace on Rebuilding the Regional Economy. But only Teva pharmaceuticals head Eli Hurwitz really dealt with the subject, with Egyptian Ambassador Mohammed Bassouny doing so to a lesser degree. *Al Fajr* publisher Hanna Shlora failed to rise to Minister Weizman's pro-peace speech and also failed to condemn terrorism.

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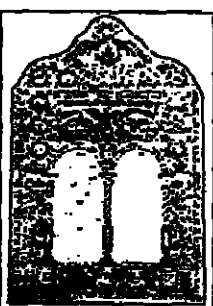
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Sat. 20:00 *Milking*, Dir: Costa-Gravas; 20:30 *Reverence of a Kabuki Actor*, Dir: Kōji Ichikawa (small hall); 22:00 *Mama Lisa*, Dir: Neil Jordan.  
Sun. 19:00 *Desperately Seeking Susan*, Dir: Susan Seidelman; 21:00 *11 Majdanek 1944*, Dir: Ignard & Beng von zur Mühlen; 21:30 *Kranen*, Dir: Ignard & Beng von zur Mühlen (small hall); 21:30 *The Magnificent Ambersons*, Dir: Orson Welles.  
Mon. 19:00 *Laila*, Dir: Stanley Kubrick; 19:00 *Back Up Your Troubles*, Dir: George Marshall (small hall); 21:00 *Miles Smith Thompson*, Dir: Curtis Bernhard (small hall); 21:30 *The Draughtsmans Contract*, Dir: Peter Greenaway.  
Tue. 11:00 *Snow White and The Seven Dwarfs*, Dir: David Hand; 16:00 *Snow White and The Seven Dwarfs*, Dir: David Hand.  
Wed. 19:00 *Les Nuits de Pékin*, Dir: Eric Rohmer; 19:00 *The Robinsian Girl*, Dir: James Horne (small hall); 21:00 *As You Like It*, Dir: Paul Czinner (small hall); 21:30 *Diva*, Dir: Jean-Jacques Beineix.  
Thu. 19:00 *Les Uns Et Les Autres*, Dir: Claude Lelouch; 21:30 *Berlin In The Twenties*, Dir: Ignard von zur Mühlen (small hall); 22:00 *2001: A Space Odyssey*, Dir: Stanley Kubrick; 24:00 *A Hard Day's Night*, Dir: Richard Lester.  
Fri. 14:00 *The Big Chill*, Dir: Lawrence Kasdan; 22:00 *Satyricon*, Dir: Federico Fellini.  
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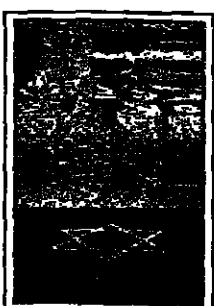
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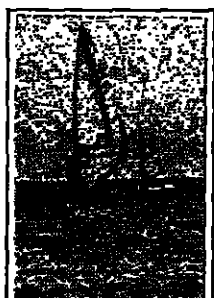
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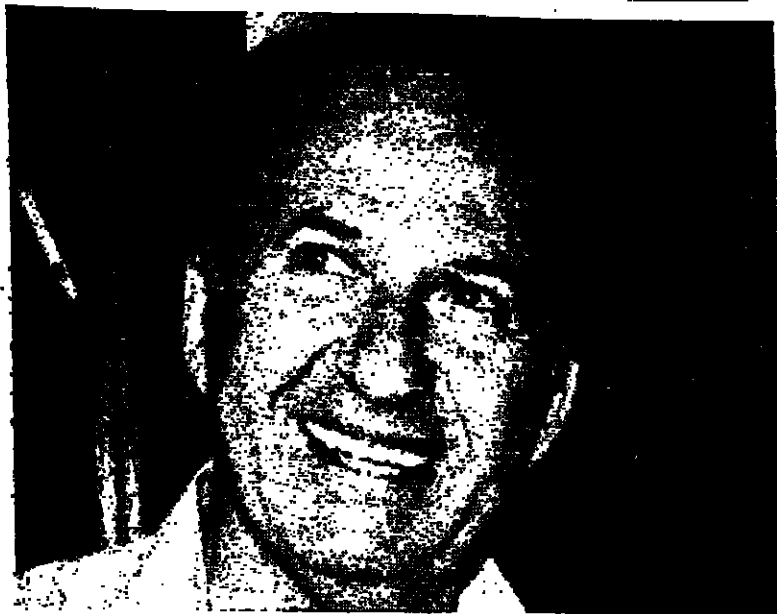
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## Menachem Shalev argues that Yosef Harish has failed in office



Yosef Harish (Gustavo Feinblatt)

# An Attorney General on the shelf

ATTORNEY-GENERAL Yosef Harish's first year in office has been accompanied by more public criticism and ridicule than has hitherto been heaped on any attorney-general.

He often complains that the press — aided, he believes, by left-wing politicians and similarly tainted Justice Ministry personnel — is conducting a full-scale lynch campaign against him. In Harish's eyes, they have never forgiven him for agreeing to succeed his semi-ousted predecessor, Yitzhak Zamir, who refused to toe the government line in the Shin Bet, bus No. 300 affair.

Some of the reports which have been published lately about Harish have indeed overstepped the accepted bounds of media propriety. Until recently, press comment was limited to scathing attacks on many of his decisions — or indecisions. But lately, the press has been encroaching on the attorney-general's personal vagaries and on his peculiar off-the-record blasts at critics.

Even so, and however paradoxical and ludicrous the following assertion may sound to Harish himself, the truth is that there is a protective conspiracy of silence enveloping him, encompassing the vast majority of cabinet ministers, and MKs, judges and lawyers, his subordinates and his peers.

Much has been written about the demoralization of Justice Ministry attorneys and the flight of talented staff to other sectors. At least as damaging is the destructive ripple effect of Harish's loss of stature on the government's perception of the rule of law.

The system is learning to adjust to the virtual absence of an attorney-general. One of the country's last — and most powerful — checks on the arbitrariness of government action is being eroded, soon to reach a point of no return. The office of attorney-general, carefully nurtured for four decades to serve as a powerful deterrent to misguided government action, is withering.

Cabinet ministers no longer seek the attorney-general's advice or guidance. Each has secured the services of his own private lawyers, trained to avoid the long arm of the law rather than to conform with its wishes. Harish's guidance is sought only when mandated by law, or by those seeking an opinion favourable to their goals.

Uniformity in the legality of the ministries' actions is becoming a thing of the past, subject to the whims of each minister and his own degree of fidelity to the rule of law. The legal advisers of the ministries, while susceptible to ministry politics at the best of times, are, in fact, the attorney-general's professional wards. They can no longer invoke the prestige of the attorney-general when challenging the legality of some dubious course of action in their ministries. After the first snub and the second chuckle, they are left to contend on their own.

The attorney-general's written opinions, binding on the government, and handed down frequently in the past, have virtually disappeared from the scene.

MANY CABINET ministers have had galling experience of the attorney-general's aptitudes. Harish embarrassed Foreign Minister Shimon Peres by telling him, mistakenly, that he could safely appoint his protégé Yossi Beilin as "vice-minister"; he humiliated Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz before the High Court and his religious peers by advising him to add the term "convert" to the nationality registration of Reform converts. Harish made ominous noises at religious ministers about the political activities of dayanim and of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef — which subsequently came to naught. He told journalists that he had decided to launch a police investigation of Nafsu's interrogators only minutes after assuring the prime minister that he would put off a decision for a few days found nothing warranting the comment in the government's hastily-retracted decision to discriminate against Arab university students.

The list is much longer, and ministers, like most of the rest of us, observe the adage, once bitten twice shy.

MK Mordechai Virshubski of Shinui has been conducting a loud and relentless pursuit of Harish's policies. Virshubski's Knesset colleagues have distanced themselves from his campaign, labelling it quixotic or counter-productive. Others fear for the sanctity of the attorney-general's office, regardless of its present incumbent.

Harish should not be misled by the silence in the Knesset. In fact, he has succeeded in forging a rare wall-to-wall consensus spanning the entire political spectrum. The language used by MKs from the far left to the far right to describe Harish's professional performance and personal traits could not be printed in a reputable newspaper, even if uttered in an on-the-record interview.

The erosion of the attorney-general's prestige, compounded by his own growing aversion to adverse public reaction have paralysed his ability to make any sort of decision at all in criminal cases involving public figures, even those represented by lawyers who are his personal friends.

Prior to this week's decision to prosecute, Harish told his legal staff that he believed that one of the participants in the "late-night meeting" involving the MK Shlomo Amar file should not be put on trial. His subordinates, disagreed. Had Harish, the stature of his predecessors, he would have overruled them and would have subsequently faced some tame criticism, tempered by general respect for his discretion.

How many people awaiting prosecution will be victims of Harish's indecision? And how many of those not prosecuted will be able to cite this as public proof of innocence? Most seem destined to sweat it out in limbo, month after month, waiting for him to make up his mind and praying for public pressure to tip the scales, one way or another.

THE HIGH COURT of Justice stands alone in its forbearance. When will it begin to question the hitherto inviolable discretion of the attorney-general? The judges, who "dwell amongst their people," have also heard of Harish's vanishing authority. In two of his rare court appearances — the Shin Bet pardon case and the recent Kahane petition — the judges were patently displeased with Harish's performance.

Ministers no longer seek the attorney-general's advice on how their actions will stand up in court. Many of their decisions, affecting fatalistic citizens who have neither the time, the money, nor the will, to hire legal aid, never reach the courts at all. These decisions, previously checked by adherence to the attorney-general's word, are now free-floating, bound neither by the law nor the rules of fair play.

The High Court and the attorney-general were joint guarantors of the rule of law in government. Now only the High Court is left; and some of our politicians are increasingly finding it, too, an irritant. One bastion, that of the attorney-general, has already been demolished. Now that precedent has been set, should we not fear for the remaining bastion?

Harish believes he is a victim of circumstance and biased criticism. Even if his belief is justified, it is no longer relevant. An attorney-general cannot function properly if he has lost the confidence of his associates.

A political system which places partisan considerations above all others has lost its faith in and fear of its legal watchdog. In the prevailing atmosphere of disintegrating government legality and morality, a stricken attorney-general brings us one step closer to chaos.

It would be a bit far-fetched, in the current state of national-unity induced paralysis, to expect our leaders and politicians to take the necessary measures to remove an attorney-general from office. Such a step, especially following Zamir's dismissal, also deters many legal authorities.

For all our sakes, and for his own peace of mind as well, Harish would do well to evaluate his situation realistically — and then pre-empt the politicians.

The writer is a member of the editorial staff of The Jerusalem Post.

# Patience, the great healer

By Dr. A.L. Furst

## Are Israeli patients in the habit of visiting their doctors much too often?

WHY COMPLAIN about patients' "overuse" of our health services, when in fact they are taught to do so by the system itself?

I recently attended a medical conference in Australia and took the opportunity of discussing professional aspects of practising family medicine in that country with colleagues I met there.

A recurring complaint I encountered at such meetings centred round what seemed to my colleagues to be the widespread abuse in Australia of the regulations regarding compensation for work-related injury or illness. Apparently after the medical certification of such a disorder, patients can often obtain very generous financial compensation, preferential early retirement options, and so on. My colleagues moaned bitterly about the large numbers of their patients taking advantage of this legislation. I said I was not surprised in the least that people, perfectly entitled to do so, were exploiting opportunities afforded by the laws, and that surely a change in the law was called for.

This situation is analogous in some ways to the utilization of the public health service in this country. One relevant area would be the public's high visiting rates to community clinics of the various sick funds, principally Kupat Holim, in which about four out of every five of us are medically insured.

These visiting rates are (a) usually acknowledged to be "high," and (b) this is usually considered to be undesirable. Whereas the first claim is undoubtedly true in comparison with other countries, the latter conclusion has never been objectively validated.

Ideally, of course, a population should use a medical care system at a rate appropriate to its health needs. Such needs, in turn, depend upon the extent and nature of the morbidity (overt and covert illness) affecting the population. Until this has been properly measured, any comments about the undesirability of high visiting rates must remain pure speculation.

However, in a medical care system with limited manpower and resources, services cannot always meet the actual level of need. The question, then, is not so much whether patients visit their doctors too much, but rather how the system can best be organized to cope with the level of need it is in fact able to meet.

VERY FEW patients, if any, visit Kupat Holim, or any other clinic with the express intention of wasting their doctor's time. They do so because they either have a problem for which they believe it appropriate to consult a doctor, or they require a technical or adminis-

trative service which, legally, only a doctor can perform. Even more to the point, they are able to make such visits with little difficulty because the medical system involved is organized (disorganized?) in such a way as to let them do so, more or less whenever they wish.

Although this is the usual picture in Kupat Holim community clinics, hospital in-patient departments on the other hand, which also provide medical care to the public at large, are organized quite differently. First of all there are fewer service points (i.e. hospitals) available, and those that exist have evolved what are sometimes very sophisticated ways of regulating the flow of patients.

To take a familiar example, patients requiring elective surgery for a hernia do not arrive at the general surgery ward of their local hospital each morning in the hope of getting a number which will entitle them to be operated on that same day. They have to take their place on a sometimes rather long waiting-list and wait for the day allocated to them. Although they might prefer an earlier operation and a day of their choice, such a delay is rarely dangerous for the patient and this type of queueing system is almost universally accepted.

Furthermore, certain surgical procedures are simply not available within the public health system. In such circumstances, the patient may have to do without, or look for a solution outside the public sector or even outside the country. The services his medical system provides are indeed limited.

Strangely enough, such controls over patient demand for care do not characterize another busy hospital department, the emergency room. Here patients are examined whenever they arrive, day or night, and for whatever reason they choose to come, much to the chagrin of the over-worked staff. The latter regularly complain about being bothered for many trivial conditions which could just as well be treated by the patient himself or his Kupat Holim doctor, leaving the emergency room staff more time to deal with the really serious cases. But faced with this double message — "Don't bother us in the emergency room with trivial complaints," and "Don't worry, we'll examine you for any complaint you have night or day" — it is hardly surprising that the public chooses to pay attention only to the second one.

This situation is even further compounded when a "trivial" complaint brought to the emergency room turns out to be the very early stage of a potentially serious disease. Then, instead of being chastised, the patient is congratulated on his perspicacity at having brought the complaint to the doctors' attention so promptly. This approach implies that patients themselves are capable of differentiating between "trivial" conditions which really are such, and "trivial" conditions which portend serious illness, something the medical profession itself is often unable to do!

To be fair to my own profession, however, most doctors, especially those familiar with the natural history of disease, usually do know when attention to symptoms and complaints can be briefly delayed, and when patients must be seen immediately. This knowledge forms the basis of one aspect of health education, the appropriate use of health services: patients learn when and how soon they need to consult their doctor about various problems. Such patient-oriented programmes have been far more successful here with regard to symptoms requiring early attention rather than to those which can safely be delayed. After all, if a medical service is so easily available, as it is in this country, why — like the Australians and their compensation laws — should we not make the most of it?

WHEN PUBLIC demand for care outstrips supply possibilities in a health service, the supply obviously has to be regulated to prevent the system from breaking down. This can be done by applying one or both of two main strategies.

On the one hand, manpower and resources can be increased to meet the level of demand although such expansion of course is governed by fiscal considerations. This additional investment should naturally be as cost-effective as possible, and wastage and existing duplication should be mercilessly pruned to a minimum.

On the other hand, supply can be controlled by introducing various technical and administrative barriers to modify patient access to the system. In the present walk-in clinic set-up, the most effective (and probably cheapest) step in this direction would be to introduce an appointments system, with suitable safeguards built in for emergency cases.

This change in clinic access procedures would have to be dovetailed with a change in the emergency services, giving them the right, or even the obligation, not to treat those cases where minor delays would be inconsequential. Otherwise the patient visit load would merely shift from the clinics to these alternative services. The imposition of a fee for each visit, which is widely mooted, could serve as a deterrent but to be effective, the sum would probably have to be so high as to be unacceptable to the central government.

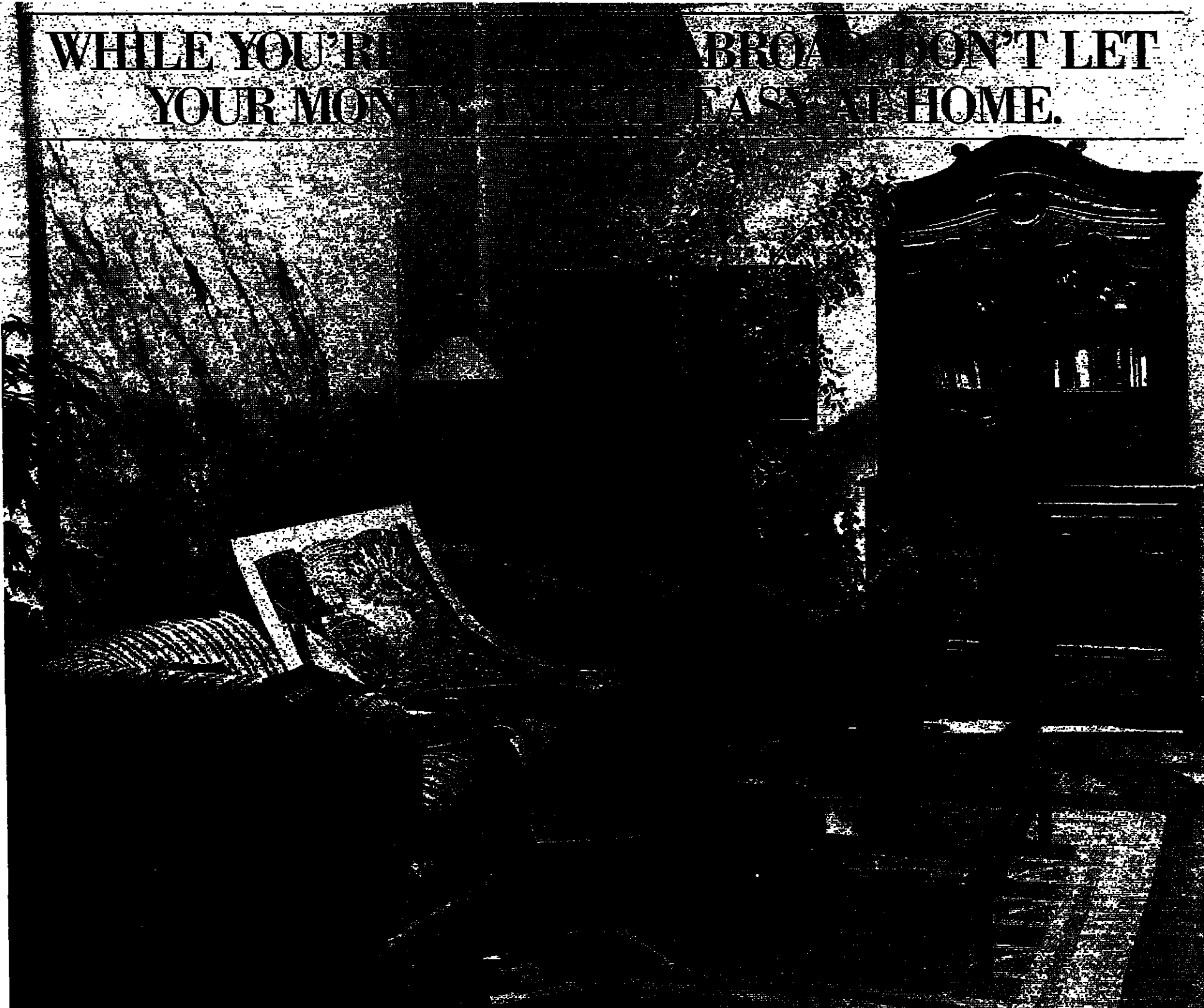
As long as a walk-in system prevails, either in community clinics or at emergency facilities, any attempts at patient education about the "rational" use of these services can only play a very minor part in reducing the load on these services. This would not be the case, however, if an appointments system was the rule. Family doctors, for example, often tell mothers that a young child who develops a temperature need not necessarily be brought to a doctor for a couple of days. They know that generally no harm will befall the child by such a delay and many will recover spontaneously.

But it is not unfair to expect such a mother to continue worrying when she knows there is a clinic open all day just down the road, and an emergency room nearby available at all other times, where she can have her child examined without having to wait at all? If an appointments system was in force, however, and there was no alternative but to wait, she would soon experience the truth of what her doctor had told her and the lesson would be learned.

A patient of mine, recently arrived from England on aliyah, consulted me the other day about a sore back. On questioning him, it transpired that he had had several similar episodes in England so I naturally asked him what his doctor there had done for him about it. In a rather embarrassed fashion, he told me he had never had it attended to. "You see," he explained, "it always took a couple of days to get an appointment to see my doctor there by which time it had invariably got better on its own — so I just never bothered to consult him about it!"

Health planners in this country might profitably study and apply the message inherent in this last consultation instead of continuing to berate the Israeli public for so freely taking advantage of the public health service. After all, isn't it they themselves who over the years have made it available to them for just such use?

The writer is chairman of the Association of Family Physicians.



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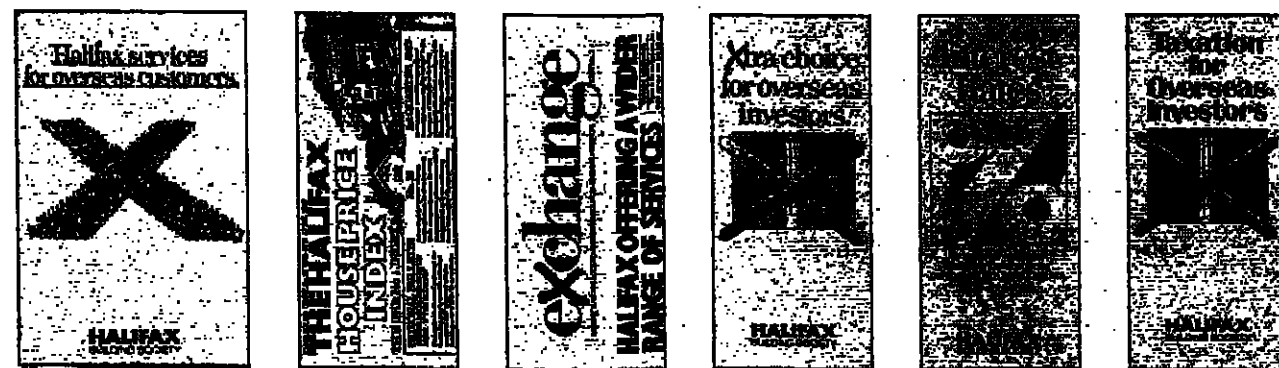
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## Dvora Getzler finds out about the political thinking of Knesset Member Mattityahu Peled

## A Zionist, general and a leftist

'Only talks with the Palestinians will bring Middle East peace'

"I HAVEN'T changed at all. It's Zionism that has moved to the right over the last 20 years to become some sort of neo-Zionism," says former IDF general Mattityahu Peled, the Jewish half of the far-left two-man Progressive List for Peace faction in the Knesset, and an opponent of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres's peace initiative.

Peled, Haifa-born, but a product of "practically every pre-state Jerusalem neighbourhood, except, of course, Mea Shearim," hot-footed back to this country from his law studies in London in 1947 and fought brilliantly through the War of Independence. Embarking on a military career, he moved steadily up the IDF command structure until 1968 when, with the rank of brigadier general, he retired, as did many others immediately after the Six Day War.

Today, at 64, and a Tel Aviv University professor of Arabic language and literature, he still looks very much the military man, holding himself tall and straight, talking in fluent, clipped sentences and, a rare exception among Knesset members, often taking the floor without notes to argue, always with control, yet always forcibly, that Israel must talk to Palestinians and the PLO.

Until he left the army, Peled held "the usual establishment beliefs: that Israel was absolutely and uncon-

ditionally bent on a peace treaty that would more or less recognize the pre-1967 borders."

That changed only "when the policy of settlement in the territories got under way, and when Yisrael Galili (the Labour Party's *eminence grise*) began to push an out-of-hand rejection of a separate Palestinian identity."

"There was a complete about-turn — territories rather than peace — when Golda Meir, who was immensely influenced by Galili, succeeded Levi Eshkol (as prime minister). True, Pinhas Sapir and Abba Eban weren't always exactly enthusiastic about Golda's policies, but theirs wasn't the predominant influence."

"That's why I say that I haven't changed. I continue to hold the views I have always held, the views that were, still should be, central to Zionism."

Peled says there is no conflict between his Zionism and his party. He has never had a disagreement with Mohammed Miari, his faction colleague, he says, denying the truth of rumours that the two are at loggerheads. He believes the experiment of a party representing Arab and Jewish Israeli interests has worked well because the two have worked for consensus.

He says he has never had to compromise his Zionist principles, nor

has Miari had to compromise on his commitments as an Israeli Arab.

"The Declaration of Independence is a very good guide! What's wrong with its formulation that ours is a Jewish State that recognizes the existence and the rights of its Arab minority?"

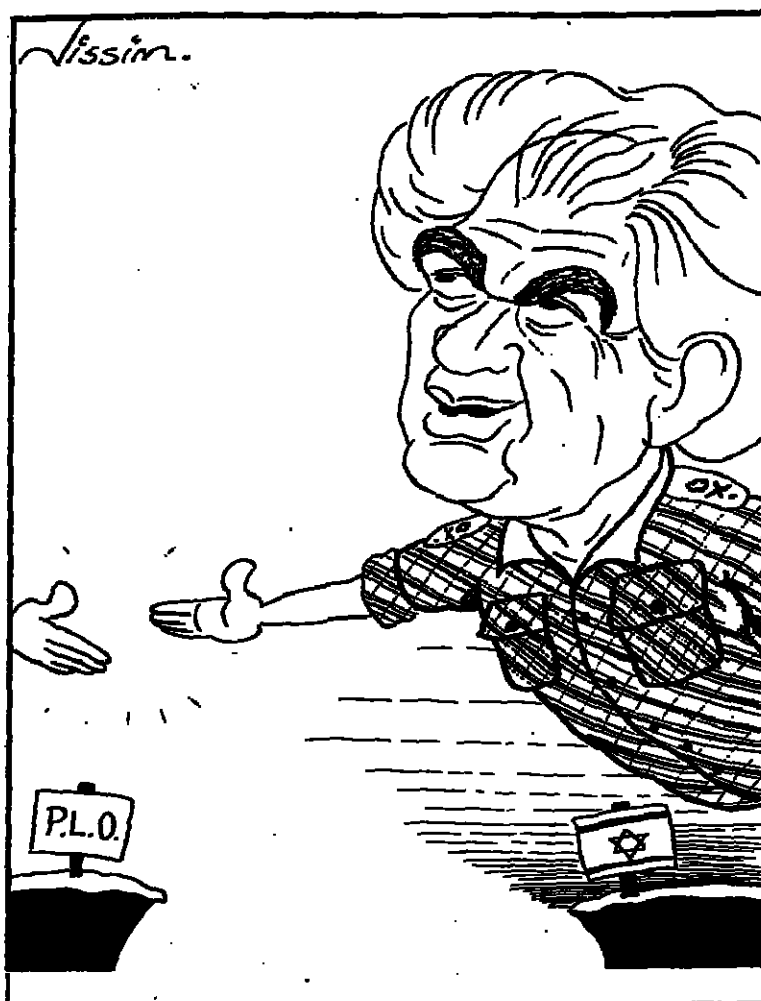
That Declaration, invoking the November 29, 1947 UN resolution, also posits the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside the Jewish state, he urges.

Thus, for Peled, Zionism must mean the search for a peaceful resolution of the Israel-Arab conflict, and above all, peace with the Palestinians. "And that can only come about by direct talks with them."

Israel's essential demands in any talks with the PLO, he says, must first and foremost be "recognition: an insistence that no irredentist movement be countenanced in a Palestinian state alongside Israel; security arrangements acceptable to both sides, and open borders."

They are ideas, he points out, that are in line with those advocated eight or nine years ago, by Walid Halidi, who is very much accepted by the PLO, and who "wrote of a Palestinian state that would never cause Israel concern that it was arming for attack."

Politically, Peled acknowledges that his path has taken him outside the national consensus. And he also



has to admit that he has no sway with the PLO. "But I don't think that that's my job."

"As a Jew and an Israeli, I want to persuade my people that the Palestinians hold the key to peace in this region, and that, sooner or later, and perhaps sooner than we think, the great powers will turn their attention to this part of the world and put things in order here."

"A peace imposed on us by the U.S. and the Soviet Union will do us little good: it will lose us international credit, and the bad taste in our mouths will linger long."

Within Israel, Peled pins some hope on the "amazing" evidence of soul-searching in sections of the Israeli elite. He cites "one-time hawk Ezer Weizman, who doesn't mind at

all now when he's accused in the Knesset of being more 'progressive' than the Progressive List for Peace; Hebrew University Professor Yehoshafat Harkabi, once the hawk's great theorist, who is now an ideologist of the doves, and a newly-awakened Abba Eban who has taken Peres to task for making an international conference the top priority when the real urgency is to end the occupation."

Challenged that what really angers most Israelis are his meetings with PLO leaders, from Arafat down, he says, "I have never sought those contacts, they have always invited me."

And though his enemies call him Macchiavellian, and many left-wingers believe him naive, Peled

claims that he went ahead hoping "to de-demonize the PLO, to further Israel understanding that PLO problems are at least as complex as ours, to open lines of communication between our government and the PLO, and to increase their understanding of our problems."

His evidence of "some move in that direction" is Arafat's recent reported declaration to a Swedish journalist, "in a direct reply to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's fears about an international conference, that the PLO wasn't interested in talking to the great powers, but wanted talks with Israel."

He strongly disagrees with the generally accepted view that the Palestinians moved to a more extreme position during the Palestine National Council deliberations earlier this year. In his view, what happened in Algeria was a rallying behind Arafat's leadership and his search for a political solution.

As to Palestinian terror: "I condemn all violence, but they are at war to win a homeland, and this is the only form of warfare available to them."

Bitter about legislation passed last year making contacts with the PLO a criminal offence, and dismissing recent Israel-PLO contacts in Romania and Hungary as "mere show," he says he will not flout the law "unless there's a real chance of furthering the peace cause."

And, he admits, "I don't delude myself: none of this will of itself bring peace."

But equally, neither will Peres's initiative, he says scornfully.

"It won't solve anything, it will only complicate matters further, because all he wants is an international opening that will lead to talks with Hussein."

Peled remains adamant that only talks with the Palestinians will bring a Middle East peace.

For him, the results of Camp David sounded a warning that "there exists a cynical belief that removing one Arab nation from the front against us strengthens us so that we can wage fiercer wars against those remaining." "Begin's renegeing on the autonomy promise also made it obvious to all the Arab states that

he saw the treaty as a separate peace."

By giving Hussein political authority over parts of the West Bank, but at the same time forbidding him to introduce any armed forces into the region, "Israel will find itself mired down yet again in the territories, he insists."

"And the IDF will have to keep the peace, and keep the population down at Hussein's behest."

"It's so monstrous that I can't believe they mean it. And if they don't mean it, then what is it other than a smoke-screen for doing nothing!"

"Peace can be brought about only by leadership, which is a quality that Peres, who has carried pragmatism to its furthest limits, completely lacks. I don't care who provides the leadership, even if it is the Likud, so long as we make peace."

Peled's preferred candidate for the leadership of a peace onslaught that could catch public imagination and win confidence, as Begin did for Camp David, is, strangely, and despite recent indications to the contrary, his old army comrade, the current defence minister.

Looking at the IDF as a retired general, Peled regrets that it moved some years ago towards a philosophy of "big is better." That, he agrees with military historians such as Prof. Martin van Crefeld, was especially obvious during the war in Lebanon, "when a sledge-hammer was used to crack a peanut. We have also abandoned our belief that our wars must be short, as well as sharp." But, Peled admits, he doesn't know whether there may not be a change under the new chief of general staff, Dan Shomron.

Peled remains a believer, as passionately convinced in his support for the Palestinians as in his Zionism. "I recall the writer Haim Hazaz, who had just lost his son in the War of Independence, looking at my baby son and saying, 'Perhaps he won't have to fight.' Well, he has been in four wars and still I can honestly say that I would be very disappointed were the political climate, or anything else, to drive my grandchildren away from our country."

## To tell or not to tell

Diplomatic Correspondent Benny Morris meets visiting Third World journalists

dom was abused, exploited."

The problem now is to try to "re-establish television's credibility. It has become less popular." No one now trusts the state media. "We have to persuade people that the state media are serving the interests of the people and state and not of the hand of people in power. At the same time, we had and still have to try to persuade the people — 85 per cent of whom are illiterate — that the government is out to help, not to crush, the people."

Staco, whose parents spent 23 years abroad in "comfortable exile" (her father was Haitian military attaché in Paris) and who did an "apprenticeship" on *Time-Life*, says she regards it as her "duty" to try, through TV, to "get the people together." She speaks of the need for "professionalism." Television, she feels, must behave "responsibly" and not broadcast things that will set in train demonstrations and riots. She speaks of the "educational" duties of television, and she implicitly posits a degree of self-censorship.

If Haird apparently has been suffering from a version of press freedom run riot, Cameroon journalists still labour under a measure of state control and supervision. Ada-

mu Musa, the diplomatic correspondent of Cameroon state television and an editor and newscaster, describes the "overwhelming, good feeling" he has when contemplating the changeover from "the ancient regime" — a strict military dictatorship — to the current, by comparison, liberal firm regime of President Paul Biya.

Musa says that the main concern of the Cameroon press today is the problem of "journalists' and officials' accountability."

He has worked in Cameroon TV since its inception two years ago and has a weekly interview programme called "Headline." In it, he says proudly, "we interview government officials, ministers, critically. We call them to account. At times, they get infuriated with us."

In the old days, he recalls, one had to submit questions to ministers a month in advance. "We were 'his master's voice.' Now we ask what we like. Why, I recently brought to my programme the president of the

National Assembly — the number two man in the government — and cross-examined him, yes cross-examined him, for 45 minutes, about the workings of the assembly."

Recently, he had the foreign minister on his show and questioned him about the re-establishment of relations with Israel.

Earlier, President Biya himself was interviewed — a rare event — on TV "and we asked him everything." Such as? "We asked him what he had done during his recent absence from Yaounde. There had been a lot of rumours. Was it vacation, had he run away, or what? In the past, we could not have asked him such a thing."

What else did you ask? "We asked about misappropriation of funds by his cabinet ministers, about mismanagement."

Was Biya angry? "Our president is a very cool, calculated character. He doesn't get upset. We also asked about the detention of journalists."

Musa concedes that there are some imprisoned journalists. "But it

is a matter of security, of censorship. Every country has limits on what can be published, censorship. Revealing secrets puts the state in jeopardy."

What were they arrested for, specifically? Musa finds it difficult to recall offhand. Then he says: "One of them published documents from the president's office which dealt with the office's functioning."

Musa notes that there is an investigative TV news programme that probes official corruption and mismanagement of funds. But he concedes that things change very slowly if at all as a result. "I don't expect things to change instantly."

He adds that there is a "danger that journalists will abuse the new freedom and act irresponsibly."

Though most of the media in Cameroon are state-owned, "the government exercises only financial control over the media. Things have improved immensely, but we are not paradise."

Prof. J.B. Disanayaka teaches linguistics in the University of Colombo in civil war-torn Sri Lanka. "We have a terrorist problem, with ethnic overtones," he says of the Tamil rebellion in the north of the country against the Sinhalese majority government.

The press, in this situation, re-

mains "more or less free," he says, although the state-owned TV and radio give the government line exclusively. There is "no censorship," he says, but he adds that the news of the campaigns in the north is channelled through a "media centre" which apparently uses its own discretion. He gives an example. When the Tamil rebels massacre Sinhalese villagers, the media centre will tend to hold the news for a while and then release it with a reduced casualty rate — "so as to prevent a backlash in the south [where Sinhalese might take it upon themselves to avenge the killings by running wild against the Tamils]."

But there is no censorship of foreign media reports and many Sri Lankans, such as Disanayaka himself, tune in to the BBC World Service for accurate reportage. "The foreign press tells the truth."

Disanayaka says there is also "self-censorship" in the Sinhalese and state-owned media to keep out expressions of sympathy for the Tamil rebellion.

Israeli military aid to the government, incidentally, is regularly denounced in the Communist Party daily and is regarded by the Tamils as Israeli aid to the Sinhalese in their battle against the Tamil rebels. Israel was named in the Communist daily as one of the possible culprits in a recent massive bus-station bombing, Disanayaka says.

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# Shabbat in the land of the midnight sun

Shlomo Goren / Former chief rabbi of Israel

THE LENGTH of the day and night according to Halacha is determined by the rising and setting of the sun, or in some cases from dawn until the appearance of three stars. As it says in Nehemiah 4: 21-22, "So we laboured in the work; and half of them held the spears from the break of morning till the stars appeared. Likewise at the same time I said to the people, Let everyone with his servant lodge within Jerusalem so that in the night they may be a guard to us and labour in the day." We learn from this that the daytime is measured from sunrise until the appearance of the stars.

A complete day (24 hour period) is from sunset to sunset, as it is written (Genesis 1:5) "And the evening and the morning were the first day." Similarly, pertaining to Yom Kippur, we find (Leviticus 23:32) "From even unto even, shall ye celebrate your sabbath." The meaning of this is that the days of the week, Sabbath, and holidays begin with sunset. The conclusion of the day, however, ends on the next day with the appearance of the stars.

This is due to the difficulty of defining the time of twilight as either day or night. Therefore the sanctity of Shabbat and festivals begins at twilight and concludes on the morrow with the appearance of three stars.

This is the normal situation, prevailing most of the days of the year in most parts of the globe, but in countries such as Norway and Finland and in the polar region (from 66.73 degrees latitude north) there are periods during the summer with no night. The peak of this season is June 21, for on this day areas beyond 66.73 degrees latitude, night does not fall at all. This period of midnight sun on the pole itself lasts three months - 45 days from June 21 and 45 days afterwards. As we approach the pole the days get longer.

In the winter months the situation is the opposite, as there is no daylight for three months on the pole itself. The peak of this period is December 22, and similarly, the further north we go, the more hours of darkness there are. This astronomical phenomenon exists because in the summer the sun faces the pole above the horizon 24 hours a day and there is no sunset. In the winter there is no sunrise and obviously no sunset. For the sun sets 18 degrees below the horizon, so that its rays cannot illuminate the earth.

These phenomena raise several halachic questions. When does Shabbat begin and end? When is the proper time to recite the morning, afternoon and evening prayers?

IT WOULD BE fallacious to suggest that the people in the polar region should adopt the same times as Jerusalem according to season, because that is how the sun was planted in the heavens at the Creation. Likewise, one cannot claim that they should adopt the times of the closest country with a true sunrise and sunset, for the halachic rule is that all geographical locations have their own time zones and no area is "affected by" or "tacked on to" another land.

If we say, for instance, that the whole world's time should be fixed according to "Yerushalmi time," we would drastically disrupt the Shabbat, holidays and weeks in the rest of the world. In the Far East or West, Shabbat would come in, not at sunset, but in the middle of the day or night. Shabbat in California or Hawaii would start early Friday morning - Friday evening in Eretz Yisrael. It is abundantly clear that this would wreak havoc with the observance of *mitzvot* whose specific time is determined by the Torah.

The Halacha regarding the time-span of the day must, then, be appropriate to the situation of each geographical location and there is no place, be it Jerusalem or any other land, that could affect the beginning and ending of the day in another land.

This basic principle is derived from the Jerusalem Talmud (*Brachot* 4:1.) There it is written: Rabbi Jose son of Hanina said: my place (in heaven) should be with those who pray with twilight." And it is told that the uncle of Rav Ada would keep the *tallis* of Rav ready for him on Yom Kippur. Rav said to him, "When you see the sun at the top of the trees, give me my *tallis* so I can pray the afternoon service." The Talmud asks "But when the sun is at the top of the trees in Rav's area in Babylonia, there is still much time to the day left in Israel."

The answer is that Rav, who lived in Babylonia didn't consider what the time was in the Land of Israel, but prayed when it was twilight in Babylonia, when the sun appears at the top of the trees, at which hour it is not yet twilight in the Land of Israel. This is the explanation according to the first opinion in the Jerusalem Talmud. The second opinion suggests that in Babylonia they should pray according to the time in Eretz Yisrael, a halacha which apparently seems absurd as we explained above.

In the north of Scandinavia and in countries near the North Pole where there is no sunset in the summer, Shabbat should begin at midnight. In principle, it is as if the sun sets at

24.00 and rises immediately afterwards. This also sets the division between days of the week in these countries in the summer. Midnight is thus established as the hour of transition in places which have no actual sunset, in order to determine the beginning and the end of Shabbat after 24 hours, and the division between day and night. Each particular location must have its own time zone in accordance with its astronomical situation. This is the case, not only regarding longitude but also latitude.

As we travel north the sun sets later and later. As long as there is an actual sunset, even if it is at 23.45, it would be inconceivable to ignore it and determine a new day by a more southerly point of the globe. So too, as we continue north and reach a point at which the sunset is one minute before 24.00 and the sunrise is at 00.01, night starts at 23.59 and day at 00.01.

Concerning Shabbat, another problem arises, the length of twilight. If we follow the opinion of Rabbi Jose in *Shabbat* 34:2 that its duration is as the wink of an eye there is no problem. But if we follow Rabbi Judah or Rabbi Nehemiah, who give twilight a longer time span, then sunset and sunrise must overlap in the polar region, day and night theoretically expanding, so to speak, over the two-minute time span.

If, however, we travel further north, reaching a place where there is no sunset and sunrise, there is no reason to commence Shabbat earlier than 24.00. Midnight is, however, the dividing point between day and night. In other words, countries in the North Pole during the summer months have a halachic transition

between one day and the next that coincides with the secular calendar of the entire year. The secular calendar distinguishes one day from the next not at sunset, but at midnight.

An additional factor should be taken into account as far as Shabbat is concerned. Due to the question of the determination of twilight and the halacha of adding additional sanctity to Shabbat by extending it, Shabbat must begin at least 18 minutes earlier and conclude 35 minutes later.

THE SITUATION IS the reverse in winter, when there are days with no light. As we travel northwards from where the sun shines for at least part of the day, the sunset gets earlier and earlier. When we reach the point at which sunrise is two minutes before the middle of the day at 11.58 and the sun sets at 12.02, it is clear, on the basis of what we have already explained, that Shabbat would begin at 12.02, and end the following day at sunset, since we have a real sunset and sunrise.

But when we travel further north and reach a point at which there is no sunrise at all and the entire day is as dark as night, it is clear that 12.00 midday should be the turning point. And had we not the halacha of adding additional time to Shabbat and the question regarding twilight, we should commence Shabbat at 12.00 noon and the termination of Shabbat would be noon, 24 hours later.

Here, the Jewish calendar is at complete variance with the secular calendar. The Jewish calendar would establish the dividing line between days at 12.00 noon, whereas the secular calendar always divides the days at midnight (24.00), since it is not dependant on an astronomical

event - sunrise or sunset.

As mentioned above, the practical halacha is that Shabbat would start in the polar regions 18 minutes before noon and end 35 minutes after noon the following day. According to Rabbenu Tam's (12th century) viewpoint, Shabbat should be extended 72 minutes after noon. The Gaon of Vilna's opinion is that Rabbenu Tam was influenced by the northern lands in determining his view. At all events, as an alternative to sunset we need not be stricter and extend Shabbat for longer than we mentioned previously.

This is the Halacha based on the sources. However, when I visited Scandinavia, I learned that the Jewish communities there do not follow this ruling. There are communities that have set the times of Shabbat in summer and winter according to the timetable in Altona, Hamburg and Ansbach. Halachically speaking, their view is without foundation. The halachic authority who gave this ruling was the Rav of Hamburg. Of course, if they bring Shabbat in early in the summer, according to Hamburg time, it is all right since, in effect, they are merely extending the sanctity of Shabbat to the weekday. But if they act according to those horizons for ending Shabbat or, in the winter, for bringing Shabbat in, they are certainly transgressing the Sabbath. We should rely on what we learn from the sources and the binding Halacha.

ANOTHER MAJOR problem in the polar region is the proper time for prayer - *Shaharit*, *Mincha* and *Maariv*.

In the summer when there is no darkness, it is permissible to pray *Maariv* from 21.30 until 24.00, which

is "Plag *Haminha*" (half the time allotted for *Minha*) according to the Rambam, who holds that we always count halachic time by *shaot zmaniot* (relative hours). In other words, a halachic hour is always one twelfth of the daytime. Since in those regions, the day is 24 regular hours, we double the normal time of *Plag Haminha* which is two-and-a-half hours before midnight, which is the *Plag Haminha* in the polar regions (according to Maimonides), and we are allowed to pray the evening service according to Rabbi Judah in *Brachot* 4, *mishna* 1.

The Halacha says that one can side with the opinion of Rabbi Judah as opposed to the view of the Rabbis, who say that the evening prayers can be performed only after sunset, (*Brachot* 27-1). The law of Rabbi Judah only pertains to the *Amida*, and not to the reading of *Shema*, according to most halachic authorities. The reading of *Shema* must be said at the appearance of three stars, as the Jerusalem Talmud teaches: "One who reads the *Shema* before the stars appear, does not fulfill his obligations." Therefore it would seem that it is impossible to fulfill this Biblical obligation in the North Pole region, in the middle of the summer. In any case, when there is no other solution one can rely on the view of Rabbenu Tam and Rabbenu Yitzhak mentioned in *Tosafot Brachot* 2:1, that according to Rabbi Judah we can read *Shema* at *Plag Haminha*.

There is no problem concerning the reading of *Shema* in the morning and saying the *Amida* in the summer, for it is permissible to pray 18 minutes after midnight. This creates a strange situation as one can pray *Maariv* until midnight, and 18 minutes later, put on *tallis* and *tefillin* and pray the morning service. The halachic guideline for *tallis*, *tefillin* and *Shema* is being able to differentiate between *rchelet* (light blue) and white, or being able to recognize a man from a distance of four cubits. Since it is always light outside, one can pray right away.

In the winter, the problem of morning prayer is more complex. Since there is no actual sunrise, there is no specific time that obligates one to put on *tallis* and *tefillin* and recite the *Shema*. True, we have established midday as the dividing point between days, but we have no method of deciding on the status of the day when there is no real sunrise. Midday with no sunrise or light has the halachic status of night time.

As a solution to this problem we have laid down three halachic possibilities.

□ The first possibility is to consider the second version in the Jerusalem Talmud that holds that one can adopt the times for prayer in Jerusalem, in spite of the differences in geographic situation.

□ The times for prayer were established in accordance with the times for the various daily sacrifices in the Temple. Hence it may be permissible to pray *Shaharit* at the same time that the morning sacrifice was brought (the same goes for the other prayers). This leniency pertains to prayer alone and not to other *mitzvot*.

□ It is also possible to rely on the opinion that one can put on *tefillin* at night, and wear *tzitzit* at night, but without the appropriate blessings. □ Alternatively, we could rely on Rashi's opinion in *Brachot* 30:1 saying that one may pray in the morning before dawn, which in every respect has the status of night time. *Tosafot* (12th century) disagree with him and Rashi's viewpoint is not mentioned in the *Shulchan Aruch*. But in the region of the North Pole, since there is little choice, we can rely on Rashi's opinion and pray *Shaharit* in the winter until noon. *Tallis* and *tefillin* should be put on without blessings, since Rashi himself does not allow blessings on them before the dawn. The *Mincha* service should be prayed after midday, close to the time of saying the evening prayer. On Shabbat they should pray the additional *Mussaf Amida* close to *Shaharit* before midday.

□ Since the times for reading *Shema* were established to coincide with going to sleep and awakening, as it is written, (Deuteronomy 6:7) "when thou liest down and when thou risest up." So, in the North Pole, the time for reading *Shema* at night should be when most of the people go to sleep. *Shema* in the morning should be said when most of the population wakes up and for the next three hours. Praying the *Amida* is again another four hours from that time.

These are the halachic rulings for communities in the region of the North Pole with regard to the beginning and conclusion of Shabbat, the times for prayer in the summer, when there is no night, and in the winter, when there is no-day.

To our dismay, the Scandinavian communities have dwindled (spiritually) to such a degree that they cannot rely on their religious leaders in matters regarding Shabbat and times for prayer, nor is their custom firmly-based. Therefore we can only act and teach according to the established Halacha as it emerges from the sources.

## Condensing the commandments

Tora Today / Pinhas H. Peli

The Tora portion for this week is Balak (Numbers 22:2-25:9). The Haftara is from Micha (5:6-14; 6:1-8).

THERE ARE usually more connections than the obvious one that tie any particular Tora portion to its Haftara (the additional reading from the Prophets). The obvious connection between the story of Balak and Balaam that we read from the Tora this week, and the 17 verses from the prophecies of Micha is the prophet's calling on Israel to remember how Balaam answered King Balak.

There are also other connections between the Tora and the Haftara readings, as, for instance, Balaam's comparing Israel to a mighty lion who devours his enemies (Numbers 23:24) matched by Micha's prophecy that the "remnant of Israel" shall be among the nations as a "young lion" who tears his enemies to pieces.

In this imagery of Israel as a fierce devouring lion, the gentle and the Jewish prophets concur. Micha, however, adds a most important distinction. One verse before he describes the "remnant of Israel" as a fighting lion, he describes them as "dew from the Lord, as showers upon the grass." Whatever Balaam's intentions were in his assessment of Israel as a mighty military power, he overlooked one of their characteristics, which to the prophet Micha was very important. The remnant of Israel is, first of all, a constructive force that brings blessing and growth to all, just as the dew and rain showers do. When necessary, and when pressed to the wall, this creative and productive people could also act as a young lion, ready to fight valiantly for its life and dignity.

After listing all the favours Israel received from God, Micha poses a rhetorical question: how can one

repay God for so much goodness? The prophet dismisses animal or human sacrifices as a form of repayment. God wishes none of these. Instead "It has been told thee, O man, what is good and what the Lord does require of thee." This verse could perhaps be explained as meaning that what the Lord requires of us, does not necessarily contradict human values, those values that man too knows are good. And what are they? "Only to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with your God."

Is this all there is to religion, all that God requires of us? And what about all other requirements? Are they to be ignored?

It would be too simplistic an answer to say, yes. Indeed, there always have been those who tried to arrive at what was called the "essence" of religion and present it in an all-inclusive one-liner. When we quote the answer given by Hillel, the great first century rabbi, to the would-be convert who wished to learn the whole of Torah while standing "on one foot," we usually hold on to one-half of the answer, and conveniently forget its other half. In fact, both Hillel and his ever-opposing colleague Shammai knew very well that one cannot become a full-fledged Jew by accepting only Tora on-one-foot. Both Hillel and Shammai agreed, as did the rest of the rabbis, that living as a Jew means a full-day-to-day life of commitments and a whole load of beliefs.

The difference between the two ancient Jerusalem rabbis was in their educational approach. Shammai had no patience for the stranger and his

strange demands, Hillel on the other hand, was ready to grant his request and give him the whole Tora "on one foot": "Love your fellow human being as yourself, do not do unto others what you do not wish to be done unto you." This is the whole Tora... But, here comes the catch, in the other half of Hillel's reply: "And the rest is commentary, go and study!" Just to love is not enough. One must give a lifetime to study the commentary.

A hundred years later, Rabbi Akiva rephrases Hillel's maxim, stating that "Love your fellow human being like yourself," is the *kiai gadol*, "the great rule of Torah," the rule which is at the centre of the circle, not instead of it.

THIS SEEMS to be the accepted rabbinic way to deal with many such reductionist texts, abundant in biblical and early as well as later rabbinic literature, although one cannot totally rule out genuine attempts to take those statements at face value.

One such statement is quoted in the Babylonian Talmud (*Makkot* 23b-24a) in the name of Rabbi Simlai, a little-known scholar of the late third century. It was the stimulus for numerous controversial interpretations in regard to the possibility of reducing religion, in both faith and action, to a few quintessential maxims.

Rabbi Simlai was the first to establish that the total number of commandments in the Tora is 613, and that these are divided into 365 positive commandments and 248 prohibitions. These numbers have since become the basis of any enumeration

of the precepts of Judaism and produced a vast literature on *minyan hamitzvot* (counting and ordering the Tora precepts).

Rabbi Simlai said: David came and reduced them (the 613) to 11, as it is written (Psalms 15), "Lord, who shall sojourn in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy mountain? He that walketh uprightly (1), and worketh righteousness (2), and speaks truth in his heart (3), that has no slander upon his tongue (4), nor does evil to his fellow (5), nor takes up a reproach against his neighbour (6), in whose eyes a vile person is despised (7), but he honours them that fear the Lord (8), he swears to his own hurt and changes not (9), he puts not out his money on interest (10), nor takes a bribe against the innocent (11)."

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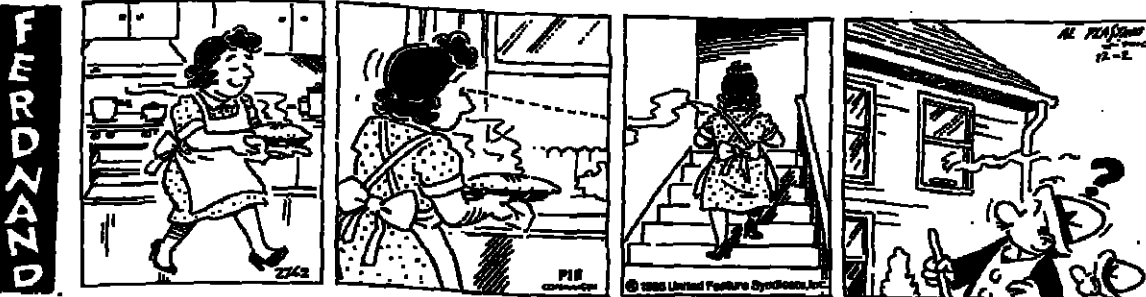
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# Escapades in the legal profession

TELEREVIEW / Matt Nesvicky

I FEEL especially uncomfortable as your substitute Telereviewer this week, since so many of the recent offerings on the tube would have been of special interest and delight to the man whose shoes I'm so vainly trying to fill. I'm speaking specifically about Wimbledon and westerns, and two dramatic series concerning South Africa and lawyers.

Last things first. On Thursday nights Israel Television is offering us a new series called *L.A. Law*. This is the most recent in a steady procession of dramatic series concerning lawyers, public defenders, judges and so on that the American networks have been relentlessly presenting since the earliest days of TV.

This fascination with the law as a wellspring of TV drama started, I think, with that warmly remembered series called *The Defenders*, which was created by the respected screenwriter Reginald Rose (*Twelve Angry Men*) and which starred E.G. Marshall and Robert Reed.

The trend continued on up (or more accurately, down) through — just to mention the ones familiar to Israel TV viewers — *Perry Mason* (in two incarnations), *Pericelli* and *The Paper Chase*.

In between I think we also had some short-lived rubbish starring James Franciscus as an earnest young attorney, and more recently Brian Keith doing an arbutic turn as one of those retired judges who just can't stop pursuing justice. No doubt the formula will be pursued right on to *Solicitors in Space*.

The notion of making heroes out of lawyers always seemed to me especially peculiar and perverse. Hollywood, however, has never been much inhibited when it comes to flying in the face of reality, so let that pass. In this latest round of romance with the legal profession, Hollywood now gives us *L.A. Law*.

The series is set in Los Angeles, that notorious hotbed of crime, corruption and litigation, which is why the featured law firm encompasses a *Love Boat*-load of lawyers of every possible legal pursuit. The outfit has the whole range of stock characters, from the wise old chief with the unfashionable, battered briefcase to the sleazy young hustler, the idealistic fighter for truth and justice, the hard-nosed realist, the firebrand feminist, the Chicano *pro bono* activist — even a self-effacing and pudgy but brilliant Jewish *puz* of a tax expert called Stuart Markowitz, whom I found particularly offensive.

This wild mix is calculated so that *L.A. Law* can spring a variety of plot devices simultaneously, and hence keep the TV-viewer's ever-flagging attention on the edge, as it were, of its seat. So we can have, for example, a divorce action, a couple of criminal cases, an insurance suit, a rights issue and the law knows what else all spinning at once.

All it spelled for me, however, was multi-track tedium. The actors — but no — there must be some other term for these little humanoid of interchangeable feature and no apparent talent bred in Hollywood for the little box — the "lawyers," then, spent an awful lot of time being terribly clever with one another, and terribly earnest, and well, just terrible. The worst groaner of the evening came when the wise old veteran of the firm told a clever young pup: "I might argue with your ethics in this case... but I admire your conscience."

The episode did, however, provide one redeeming line of dialogue. In the divorce case, the philandering husband offered a settlement, which the wronged wife angrily rejected. He then asked, superciliously, what sort of alimony she had in mind. At which point the enraged wife leaped to her feet, flung a list of her demands across the table, and snarled: "Chew on those numbers, you impotent piece of snail!"

Ah, well, perhaps the line wasn't that edifying after all. Come to think of it, with its abundance of women divorce-seekers, women lawyers, women judges and — *gevalt!* — women witnesses! — perhaps *L.A. Law* is no sort of programme to present mind-week, when the religious community might be shocked senseless. Which brings us to Friday night.

RIVKA MICHAELI was in good form hosting her variety show; I just don't think there's a better *comper* anywhere. It was especially nice, too, to see Danny Sanderson again. Among his several amusing bits was his flamenco routine, where not even the tacky Purim costume could detract from his bright lyrics and delivery.

Arik Sinai put in a reasonably good showing as well, although occasionally he seemed to be lip-synching. Side B of his new record while we were hearing Side A. But no matter — everyone enjoys Rivka's party, and that's what counts.

ITV next served up the classic George Stevens western *Shane*, but although I knew my regular Telereviewer would never forgive me, I passed. There was once a time when I loved westerns; roughly up to the age when I discovered girls. Whatever the reason, I can't stomach them now (westerns, I mean), not even when they're labelled "classic" and especially when they feature Alan Ladd, who doesn't even reach up to Gary Cooper's gumbel. I simply can't buy a wrangler the size and shape of Woody Allen.

Instead, I decided to see what Huxtable and Lisa were munching their popcorn over, and found an episode of a remarkable series called *Shaka Zulu*. In fact, I had caught a few episodes of this series before, and it's unusually good in a number of respects.

For one thing, it's got Edward Fox and Trevor Howard (looking shockingly aged and craggy). For another, no expense has been spared, especially on the set-piece battles, which seem to involve thousands of participants. For a third, many of the landscape and *kraal* scenes have the composition and tone of those charmingly arid watercolours produced by late 18th- and early 19th-century white visitors to Africa. For a fourth, it has an unburied narrative line that melds fact and myth in a way most suitable to the larger-than-life Zulu nation-builder and monumental psychopath that was Shaka.

Henry Cele in the title role is also definitely one of the best features of the series. Aside from an incredibly gorgeous body, he has a commanding presence that makes the viewer hang on his every word. The result is that his development from early victim to cunning plotter to mad avenger has engendered total credibility and not a small degree of sympathy.

This last is especially remarkable, given that Shaka's cruelty is as shocking to us as it was to his generally placid tribesmen. The screen abounds with beheadings, impalements, immolations and tortures, all depicted with awesome realism. Another example of the film's devotion to realism is that the women are barebreasted. Both, I suspect, are enough to keep this series, which I gather is an Anglo-South African production, from being screened in the U.S., and probably in Israel as well.

Okay, so at the end of *Shaka Zulu* I switched back over to Zion in time to see Alan Ladd blow away Jack Palance. Then I watched a tiny trefin called Brandon De Wilde weeping as Ladd rode off into the sunset. And thence to bed.

The other big feature of the TV week was Wimbledon, where — no surprise to Israelis — Cash proved superior to a Czech. Tennis is a marvellous game, but I think there is something decidedly decadent about watching sport from the depths of a sofa. So I refuse to do so. Of course, I also refuse to engage in any sport; so much for principles.

## SKYSCRAPERS

(Continued from Page One)

architecture critic Ada Huxtable wrote recently in *The New York Times*, "Greedy has never been so chic. The public interest has never been so passé."

Other critics are outraged by the sale of city-owned land on the southwest corner of Central Park for a towering office complex.

"It is a large and uncomfortable building that looms over the most cherished piece of land in this area," said the director of a civic group that has filed suit to block the project. "It will be visible from almost everywhere in the park, it will cast the park in shadow and it doesn't make any sense at all."

City spokesman McGrath said the city tries to steer construction to New York's less congested outer boroughs — such as Brooklyn or Queens — but can't blame developers who want buildings where the action is, in midtown Manhattan.

New York's seeming obsession with building.

Rector William Greenlaw of the Episcopal Church of the Holy Apostles, a century-old landmark on Ninth Avenue, worries about what will happen if the post office builds a planned addition across the street.

"If a lot of serious blasting takes place, the vibration could cause a large amount of damage and we could even lose our Church," said the rector whose church boasts a wooden spire, fragile stained-glass windows and the city's largest privately run soup kitchen.

The New York district postmaster said through a spokesman that the postal service was "very sensitive" to community needs and would take steps to protect the church.

But sometimes it is impossible to predict what will happen at a construction site.

A 30-year-old aspiring actor was killed several weeks ago when a 2.5 metre piece of lumber fell on him from a 56-storey luxury residential tower being built near Carnegie Hall.

## DAVIS CUP TENNIS

# Journey into unknown

By JACK LEON  
RAMAT HASHARON. — Manchester, England, is hardly uncharted waters for Israelis.

But today's flight to the northern English city is the first leg of a journey that will take the national Davis Cup team into what coach Shlomo Zoref terms "unknown territory." Israel play India in a World Group quarterfinal in two weeks at New Delhi.

"We really don't know just what to expect in New Delhi, Zoref explained while his team worked out at the Israel Tennis Centre courts here. The squad comprises Shlomo Glickstein, Amos Mansdorf, Gilad Bloom, Ravi Weidenfeld and Boaz Merenstein, with Yosef Stabholz continuing as non-playing captain for the 10th straight year.

Zoref isn't sure what to worry about more — New Delhi's July monsoons, 46 degree temperatures, the foreign food said to endanger many visitors to India, or the site's grass courts.

India's singles rackets, Vijay Amritraj and Ramesh Krishnan, two of the game's top grass-court specialists, will likely also get a big boost from the home court advantage, Zoref added.

"I know there are people who tend to write off Amritraj as a 'has-



Shlomo Zoref (H. Guthmann)

been,' but of course there are also those who feel exactly the same about Glickstein." Zoref pointed out. "Both were high in the world singles rankings and have now dropped into the mid-300s. But, whatever his standing on the ATP computer, Shlomo is still a potential match winner in the Davis Cup, and the same obviously goes for Vijay."

Zoref and Stabholz plan for Bloom to leave the reserve's bench and play against India — since joining the team in 1983, the young player's appearances on court have been restricted to winning a "dead" singles against Belgium.

In his first Wimbledon, Bloom scored two singles victories against opponents ranked above him and gained experience on grass as well as in best-of-five matches, which are played only in the Davis Cup and at Grand Slam tournaments like Wimbledon.

But Zoref decided to speculate on the line-up against India, and it appears that there is not yet a place in the singles for Bloom, with the two berths in this category once again going to Mansdorf and Glickstein.

Mansdorf has won each of his two singles rubbers against both Switzerland and Czechoslovakia in recent Davis Cup play. Since his cup debut in 1984, Mansdorf has won eight of his 13 singles rubbers.

And Glickstein, with his remarkable 11-year cup record of 33 singles victories in 43 outings, is clearly not yet ready to be relegated to the sidelines, despite his lack of success on the pro tennis circuit.

Bloom will probably be called on to partner Mansdorf in the doubles, leaving Glickstein to concentrate on singles. Appearing together for the first time for two years, Mansdorf and Bloom registered four doubles victories at Wimbledon, three in the quarterfinal and one in the main draw. "We make a good team and enjoy playing together," Mansdorf commented.

The contest against India will be Israel's second Davis Cup outing on grass. Against Britain in Eastbourne in 1985 the hosts triumphed 4-1.

In 51 Davis Cup matches, Israel have won 19 times, 10 of them away from home.

A bonus for Israel is that, whatever happens in New Delhi, the upset triumph over No. 3 seed Czechoslovakia in March ensures their position in the 16-nation World Group next year, while Davis Cup giants like the U.S., West Germany and Czechoslovakia will be engaged in relegation-rounds to which the loser means a drop from the premier division to zonal competition in 1988.

The winner of the Israel-India match is away to either Australia or Mexico in October in the World Group semi-finals.

## BASEBALL

# Indians on the warpath

NEW YORK (AP). — The Cleveland Indians are literally trying to fight their way out of the cellar in the American League East.

The Indians completed a three-game sweep of Kansas City on Wednesday night in Cleveland. In each of the games, Cleveland rallied to win. In each of the games, a pitcher from one of the teams was accused of throwing at a batter. And in the last two games, there were fights.

On Wednesday night, Cory Snyder hit a home run and drove in two runs with a ninth-inning double to give the Indians a 9-8 victory that left Cleveland with a 30-53 record, 2 games back of Baltimore.

The Royals-Indians game was held up for 16 minutes in the bottom of the first inning when Kansas City left-hander Danny Jackson threw his first pitch behind Brett Butler, then put the next one over his head. Butler charged the mound, and both benches cleared.

"If they want to pull that stuff, it'll cost them the game," Indians manager Pat Corrales said. Jackson and Butler were ejected. Cleveland played the game under protest because Royals manager Billy Gardner was not ejected. Willie Wilson of the Royals led Cleveland pitcher Ken Schrom on Tuesday night, one pitch after he was knocked down by a high inside pitch. The Royals claimed on Monday night that Cleveland reliever Sammy Stewart twice threw at Kansas City hitters.

Yankees 13, Twins 4  
Don Mattingly had two homers and Rickey Henderson had four hits to lead New York's 16-hit attack against five Minnesota pitchers. Mattingly hit a three-run homer in the first inning and led off the sixth with his 10th homer of the season. Mike Pagliaro and Mark Salas also homered for New York.

Tigers 9, Athletics 5  
Detroit led 7-0 after four innings, and Darrell Evans homered in the sixth and ninth innings to lead Detroit past the Athletics, who made three errors. Mark McGwire hit his 31st homer of the season for Oakland.

Blue Jays 5, Rangers 2  
Toronto scored twice in the seventh inning on bases-loaded walk and Tony Fernandez's groundout to erase a 2-1 Texas lead, then added two runs in the eighth. The Blue Jays had only four hits in the game and just two off Bobby Witt going into the seventh.

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

Maybe the St. Louis Cardinals should play a whole bunch of doubleheaders next season, preferably all in a row.

The Cardinals continued to make the most of a scheduling predicament on Wednesday and swept a doubleheader from the Los Angeles Dodgers for the second straight evening. Rainouts had created the doubleheaders at Busch Stadium.

The sweeps extended the Cardinals' longest winning streak of the season to seven in a row and gave them a nine-game lead in the National League East.

Terry Pendleton drove in four runs, including an RBI single in the 10th inning, as St. Louis won the second game 8-7. Jack Clark's three-run homer highlighted a 6-3 triumph in the opener.

"It doesn't matter how many times you get hit. It's run production, that's the bottom line," Pendleton said.

Pendleton, who hit a three-run double earlier in the game, singled home the winning run with one out. Jose Oquendo opened the 10th with a single off Orel Hersher, 10-8, and Ozzie Smith's one-out single moved Oquendo to third.

A walk to Vance Colvin loaded the bases and Pendleton's single under the glove of first baseman Mickey Hatcher.

Pat Perry, 3-1, pitched two innings for the victory.

In the opener, Clark hit a three-run homer in the fifth inning and McGwire followed with a homer off Fernando Valenzuela, 7-7. Clark leads the major with 52 RBIs and has 25 home runs.

Expos 1, Astros 0  
Floyd Youmans pitched his second career one-hitter, holding Houston hitless until Kevin Bass's hard single leading off the eighth inning, as Montreal won for the 14th time in 17 games.

Angels 5, Red Sox 3  
The Angels swept the Red Sox for the first time since 1974, handing Boston their fifth straight loss. Mark McLemore doubled home two runs in California's three-run second inning. The Angels won for the 14th time in 17 games.

Phillies 7, Reds 2  
Glenn Wilson hit a two-run homer as Philadelphia completed a three-game sweep at Riverfront Stadium for the first time since 1984. The Phillies scored 26 runs on 43 hits with six homers in three days against Cincinnati.

Opening Ceremony.  
Yugoslavian basketball star Drazen Petrovic lights the flame to open the World University Games in Zagreb.



Yugoslavian basketball star Drazen Petrovic lights the flame to open the World University Games in Zagreb

## Schoolgirls make soccer history

WEMBLEY, England (AP). — A team of American schoolgirls will make soccer history next week when Wembley Stadium stages its first all-girl match after 64 years of male domination.

The Cincinnati Cardinals under-14 team meets English side Millwall Lionesses on July 16 to kick off the fourth annual London International Football Festival.

World Cup final and hosts the national team's games as well as the annual English Football Association Cup final, is known as the home of English soccer. Only women's field hockey teams have been allowed to break the male monopoly since the stadium was built in 1923.

CYCLING. — Adrië van der Poel survived a jury inquiry today to earn his first Tour de France stage win and give the Netherlands their fourth success in this tour.

## Giants 8, Pirates 4

Bob Melvin singled home the tie-breaking run in the 14th inning and Chih Davis followed with a three-run homer as San Francisco won in Pittsburgh.

Singles by Jody Youngblood, Jose Uribe and Melvin off rookie Steve Carlton, 1-1, sent a 5-4 lead to the 14th. Davis, released earlier in the day from the hospital after some abdominal discomfort hit his 13th homer.

Cubs 12, Padres 8  
Jim Sundberg's pinch-hit grand slam highlighted an (eight-run) rally in the eighth inning that sent Chicago over San Diego.

## AMERICAN LEAGUE EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	33	32	.504	-
Toronto	40	25	.615	7 1/2
Detroit	46	19	.706	13
Milwaukee	41	24	.629	18
Boston	39	26	.597	20
Baltimore	33	31	.515	26
Cleveland	30	33	.476	29

## WEST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Minnesota	47	18	.723	-
Kansas City	45	20	.692	2
Chicago	44	21	.676	3
California	44	21	.676	3
Seattle	43	22	.664	4
Texas	39	26	.597	8
Chicago	32	33	.492	15

Wednesday's games: New York 13, Minnesota 4; Detroit 9, Oakland 5; Baltimore 6, Chicago 5; 10 innings; Cleveland 9, Kansas City 8; Toronto 5, Texas 2; California 5, Boston 3; Seattle 5, Milwaukee 2, 11 innings.

## NATIONAL LEAGUE EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	33	29	.534	-
Montreal	44	18	.706	7 1/2
New York	41	24	.629	18
Philadelphia	41	24	.629	18
Pittsburgh	37	27	.577	22

Wednesday's games: Chicago 12, San Diego 8; St. Louis 6, Los Angeles 3, 1st game; St. Louis 4, Los Angeles 7, 10 innings; 2nd game; Philadelphia 7, Cleveland 2; San Francisco 8, Pittsburgh 4, 14 innings; Atlanta 5, New York 3; Montreal 1, Houston 6.

## YOUTH BASEBALL

The Dora Netanyahu Dodgers earned the right to play for the Shalom Valley championship title against the Ramat Hasharon Royals with a 5-3 victory over the Herzliya Chasidim Bears.

The Haron brothers, meanwhile, teamed up in a fine display of baseball for Neve Eitan, as the Bambergs beat the Bears 11-8. Josh was the winning pitcher, Ari had the game-winning hit, and Asit Haron saved the game with a last-inning shutout of a fine drive at shortstop.

Neve Eitan closed their season with 3-0 victory over the Tel Aviv Indians.

## CRICKET

### Sussex crash out

LONDON (AFP). — Sussex have relinquished their hold on the Nat-west trophy — English cricket's premier limited overs tournament — as Hampshire narrowly failed to make one-day history and Ian Botham suffered the embarrassment of being out first ball.

A partnership of 145 between Tony Wright and Andy Stoddard saw Gloucestershire cruise to their five-wicket second round success over Sussex and make their way into the quarter finals. Wright hit 76 and Stoddard 69 after Sussex had made a more than adequate 242 for eight.

Hampshire lost away to Leicester by 15 runs after being set a target of 342 for victory. Had they achieved it their total would have been the highest by any side batting second in the one-day game. They just failed with 326-9.

Leicester's in-form former England batsman Peter Willey hit a superb 154.

Botham, who scored a century in the last round, was declared fit after his bruising experience in the last test but with hindsight he would probably have preferred to miss out against Essex.

His duck, opening the innings, came as Essex came out on top in the last of the day's matches at Chelmsford. Essex won by 15 runs after Worcester had been set a modest target of 195.

Northants, second in the country championship and set for a Benson and Hedges cup final clash with Yorkshire tomorrow, came in a five-wicket success over Surrey thanks to a fourth wicket century partnership by Alan Lamb and David Capel.

Also through to the quarter finals are Warwickshire, Yorkshire, Nottingham and Derby.

## ELECTION

(Continued from Page One)

Likud's "failed but strenuous efforts" to raise a majority for "Who is a Jew" and again blasted Labour's "anti-religiousness." Peretz, who has invoked the Talmudic adage "a sinner must be rewarded" in order to distance himself from Labour's election drive, might be able to persuade the Tora Council of Sages that cabinet portfolios and the benefits accorded narrow-coalition partners are preferable to the potential electoral gains.

Tehiya has said almost openly that it would join a narrow coalition, since such a step would ensure the achievement of the two goals of its current campaign against the Likud: a massive build-up of West Bank settlements, and the total collapse of international conference efforts. The only hold-out might be MK Rafael Eitan. But at least one Likud minister said this week, only half-jokingly, that because of the Likud's internal problems with the defence portfolio, Eitan might be made an offer he cannot refuse.

The NRP is on record as opposing a narrow coalition, but the winds in the party are blowing in a different direction. The night wing of the party and Matzad, on the ascendant, support such an option, and the party does not consider itself ready for elections in any case.

Agudat Yisrael is suffering from deep internal strife and is in no condition to go to the polls.

MKS Abuhatzira and Hurvitz

have thrown in their lot with the Likud, for better or for worse. Hurvitz might oppose a move for a narrow government, but not to the point of political extinction.

At MK Atsche was reportedly on the verge of concluding an agreement with the Likud yesterday.

Allignment MK Abba Eban said yesterday that on grounds of conscience he would not be able to bring himself to vote against the motions of no-confidence which will come up in the Knesset next week.

Eban said: "I cannot endorse the permissive attitude shown by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir towards murderers when he voted for the proposal in the Knesset for a law granting clemency to the members of the Jewish anti-terror underground."

Shamir undoubtedly prefers that Labour precipitate the move for a narrow-based government by departing from the coalition. He could then avoid resignation, invite Tehiya, Verdiger and Atsche to join a narrow-based government and the still-popular national unity government. If, however, Labour does not oblige, and a majority for early elections is forecast, Shamir could also go to the president and resign, bringing down the government. The president, under current conditions, would have to bestow the mandate of forming a new government on the Likud leader.

## PERES

(Continued from Page One)

plomatic sources in Geneva, Murphy has presented the Soviet diplomat with a document summing up the "large consensus existing in the Middle East about the international peace conference."

The document is said to contain the following points:

□ The objective of the conference is to achieve a peace settlement and the way to attain it is through direct negotiations.

□ This objective is to be achieved within the framework of an international peace conference.

□ The conference will have no right to veto any agreement reached between the parties.

□ All participants to the conference will accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and abandon the use of terrorism and violence.

□ The Palestinians will be represented within a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation.



North American volunteer crewmen of the 'illegal' immigrant ships were back here last week. Abraham Rabinovich reports.

# The heritage of daring

FORTY YEARS AGO they were young men who set aside their pursuit of the American dream in order to help end the European nightmare for the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. There were 240 of them. North Americans - almost all of them war veterans, all but five Jewish - who volunteered to serve as crewmen on the ships of Aliya Bet carrying refugees from the bitter shores of Europe towards a Jewish homeland.

Last week, 80 of them returned to Israel to mark their great adventure together with many of their 50 fellows who had settled in the country along with the refugees they had transported. Joining them during the series of seminars and get-togethers were some of the Hagana operatives who ran the massive operation during the two years before the creation of the state.

Of the dozens of vessels employed in carrying "illegal" immigrants, only 10 were purchased in America and manned by American crews (under the direction of a Hagana cadre). These 10, however, were far larger than the other ships, and together they carried more than 40 per cent of the almost 70,000 illegals caught up in the British blockade.

The fierce resistance to boarding parties put up by the crews on the Exodus and other vessels drew the world's attention to the plight of the refugees and contributed to the moral and material pressures that finally caused Britain to relinquish its hold on Palestine. One American was killed in these encounters, several were wounded, and almost all served periods of internment of up to a year in British detention camps.

AT A MEETING in Jerusalem with Aliya Bet operatives, the former crewmen learned from the woman who headed the operation in Italy for much of this period, Ada Sereni, that a secret agreement had been reached with the Italian government whereby Aliya Bet would be permitted to "editark" refugees from the Italian coast, as long as it was done discreetly.

"They were very interested in letting out the tens of thousands of refugees coming over the Alps," she said.

With the British applying strong pressure on the Italian government to prevent the sailing of the refugee ships, a high degree of secrecy was necessary to keep the mass movement hidden from the eyes of British intelligence.

"The Italians said, 'We can't give you a port. You'd be too easily seen. You'll have to embark your people from solitary beaches and transfer them out by small boat.'"

Privy to the secret were the police chiefs in the coastal areas chosen by Aliya Bet. Mrs. Sereni said she used to give these police commanders complete details of the operation, including the location and hour of the boarding and the number of passengers. The chiefs would then make sure that all police and coast-guard patrols were dispatched to distant points to check out fictional reports.

This Italian support wavered with the arrival of the Exodus, which was fitted out to carry more than 4,000 passengers. The British applied strong pressure on the Italian government to prevent its sailing.

A distraught Italian official summoned Mrs. Sereni, herself a native of Italy, and told her that Italy was not politically strong enough to withstand the British pressure. "Madam, don't try to embark people on this ship. It's too big." If Aliya Bet ignored his plea, he warned, "no ship of yours will leave the shores of Italy again."

In the end, however, the Italians changed their mind. Mrs. Sereni noted that there was no love lost between the Italians and the British, who were attempting to seize Italian vessels as war reparations.

FORMER MK Lova Eliav, who headed the Hagana cadre on the Arlosoroff, paid tribute to the overall head of the operation, the late Shaul Avigur, who set up his headquarters in a modest hotel in Paris. Contrary to the Paul Newman image of Aliya Bet operatives established in the film *Exodus*, said Eliav, Avigur was a short man who looked like a wholesale grocer from the provinces.

Avigur's insistence on secrecy and the employment of codes sometimes led to amusing situations, recalled Eliav. On one occasion, an Aliya Bet operative telephoned to a colleague in a different European country to report that "Grandma" was ill, very ill. Grandma was a code name for a specific ship.

"What does she need?" asked the operative who received the call. "Medicine."

"What kind of medicine?" His capacity for elliptical message-flashing taxed beyond its limits, the caller said "Fifty tons of crude oil."

Eliav recalled visiting Avigur in a Geneva office with an urgent message from Tel Aviv. Avigur stopped Eliav from speaking, and led him down to the lake. Safe from any possible eavesdroppers, Eliav started to speak but was stopped again.

"We got into a boat and even then he wouldn't let me speak. Only when we got to the middle of the lake did he say, 'All right, what's the message?'"



On the way... arrival in Cyprus

PAUL SHULMAN, a graduate of the American Naval Academy and an important figure in Aliya Bet, told his former comrades that he had been recruited by Teddy Kollek, then the Hagana's representative in New York, to assess the seaworthiness of a vessel in Baltimore being considered for the operation. Shulman went on to settle in Israel and serve as the first commander of Israel's navy.

Recalling British efforts to prevent refugee boats from leaving Italy, he told how he had once been summoned to the police chief in Venice. "He said, 'The British don't like you very much. I suggest you carry a gun.'"

On one occasion, recalled Shulman, he had to bring crewmen from a Venice hotel to a refugee ship in the port. As he started to enter the lobby, he spotted an American destroyer captain with whom he had served in the U.S. navy. Since the demands of field security forbade his being recognized, Shulman retreated and headed for St. Mark's Square. There he hired a prostitute, and took her back to the hotel entrance. Discreetly pointing out the American captain sitting in the lobby, Shulman said, "Tell him you're a gift from an old friend."

DURING THE general discussion, the Aliya Bet veterans rising to speak identified themselves by their own name and the name of the vessel they had sailed on. A question asked by several was whether the extent of the resistance put up by the American crews, particularly aboard the Exodus, had been planned by the Hagana overseers or whether it had taken them by surprise. None of the speakers could give a direct reply.

However, Shulman noted that after the battle on the Exodus, in which Chief Mate Bill Bernstein was clubbed to death by a British marine,

preparations were made to resist British boarding of Aliya Bet vessels in future. Steam hoses were made ready to be turned on boarding parties, and cables prepared to foul the propellers of British ships coming alongside.

Immediately after the Exodus, recalled Eliav, he had witnessed some 800 refugees in Italy being addressed by Yehuda Artzi, one of the legendary leaders of Aliya Bet, as they stood in line waiting to board a ship.

"He told them of the policy to resist by force and said there might be dead and wounded. He said that if anyone wanted to step out he could do so, and nothing would be held against him. He waited five minutes, but nobody moved... The Exodus became the symbol of the whole movement."

With the creation of the state, that movement drifted into history. But, noted Eliav, the patterns of improvisation and swift and unconventional action adopted by Aliya Bet was a heritage that would manifest itself in numerous future operations, including the commando raid on Entebbe.

LAST SUNDAY, close to 2,000 of the immigrants carried on the American-grewed ships arrived at the Ha'aretz Museum amphitheatre, in Tel Aviv in response to an advertisement in the Hebrew press for a reunion with the American veterans and the Israeli cadres.

One of the illegals, Michael Gilad, a passenger on the Hatikva, took the microphone to deliver a brief, emotional address to the crewmen.

"When I came I had only one number," said Gilad, who became a policeman and an interrogator of Adolf Eichmann. "That was the number on my arm. Since then I've acquired other numbers - my identity card number, my military service number, my Israeli passport number. For this I thank you."

Many on both sides wept.

# The Christian retreat from the Holy Land

Abraham Rabinovich

IT WAS AN anniversary one would have thought Christians and Israelis would have preferred to ignore.

But last Sunday, 60 foreign and local scholars made a pilgrimage to the Horns of Hittin to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the battle in which a Moslem army under Saladin defeated the massed forces of the Crusaders, effectively ending Christian domination of the Holy Land.

The battle has been, for the Arabs, a primal historical memory - the ending of Christian rule by force of Islamic arms serving as an obvious analogy for Arab hopes regarding Israel. Scholarship, however, rises elegantly above political passions, at least when the focus is 800 years in the past, and the foreign Christians and Israelis had no trouble giving Saladin his due.

Perhaps more surprisingly, neither did the Lower Galilee Regional Council, which had recently cut a dirt road to the site off the Nazareth-Tiberias road and is in the process of developing it as a tourist site with explanatory signs. The area was bedecked with flags as if in celebration of a national holiday.

Standing on the site where the Crusaders had made their last stand on the torrid July 4 of 1187, Prof. Benjamin Z. Kedar of the Hebrew University described the battle to Sunday's visitors, participants in a five-day conference on the Crusades sponsored by the Hebrew and Haifa universities.

Saladin led his army around the southern end of Lake Kinneret towards Galilee, hoping to lure the Crusader army out of its encampment at the Saforie Springs (Zippori), not far from Safad.

Halted near a site occupied today by Sde Ilan, a Lower Galilee moshav, he detached a force to attack the Crusader garrison in

Tiberias. This maneuver succeeded in inducing the Crusader army to begin marching to the rescue. Saladin was waiting for it near the extinct volcano known as Hittin. Cut off from its water supplies in fiery heat, the Crusader army was surrounded and defeated in a fierce battle.

After Hittin, Crusader castles throughout the country fell, and finally Jerusalem. Crusades would continue for another century, but their peak had passed.

In a recent dig atop the highest point of Hittin, archeologists uncovered remains of a medieval structure which Professor Kedar has identified as the victory pavilion erected by Saladin to mark the victory.

THE CONFERENCE dealt only in passing with the battle, focusing instead on the Crusaders themselves. C.J. Tyerman of Oxford said that many of them were financially well off, and those who weren't received adequate funding from patrons.

"The idea of hordes of peasants leaving their fields in sporadic outbreaks of mass hysteria to travel to the far ends of the known world, relying on nothing but God and charity, is a romantic myth," he said. "Only an expanding, rich, ordered Europe could have sustained movement that depended so crucially on organization and money."

Along with noblemen, merchants and artisans there were common folk, but not so common as to be impoverished. One of the more interesting groups were criminals - some sentenced to go on the Crusades, others joining to escape trial.

Jerusalem district archeologist Dan Bahat told the conference that

contrary to popular belief, the Crusaders evidently did not fortify Jerusalem after capturing it in 1099, but relied on the previous fortifications. No archeological evidence of a Crusader city wall has been uncovered.

THE NON-exclusivity of Jerusalem as a Crusader goal was spelled out by Dr. Norman Housley of Leicester University. The first Crusade had focused entirely on liberating the Holy City, but the goals became increasingly broad.

"There were powerful forces acting on the papacy to extend the Crusade to areas geographically distinct from Jerusalem." An area of particular concern was Spain, where Christians were struggling on their own home ground against Islam.

"The pope urged the Catalans to work for the restoration of Tarragona rather than go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, promising them the same indulgence for so doing. Urban II's conception of the Crusade was a broad one, comprising the defence of Christians wherever they were being attacked."

Subsequent popes expressly forbade Castilian knights and clerics to desert the home front for "the vision of Jerusalem."

Although European-based Christianity could thus shift its aspirations from the earthly city of Jerusalem to heavenly Jerusalem, Israel and the Arab world today have no such convenient theological solution to their struggle for Jerusalem. Meanwhile, Jews and Arabs alike, thanks to the Lower Galilee Regional Council, will be able to mount the Horns of Hittin and muse about the battle - the former as history, the latter as possible future. Just half an hour's drive away, their musing can continue at Megiddo, which is Armageddon.

# The uninvited guests

Helga Dudman

teenager, sitting apart with his father and the Australian. I would have liked to talk to this scholarly Arab, but there's a limit to how much one can trot around old battlefields saying "Hi! And what is your view of Saladin's victory?"

It was easier to talk to the representatives of the losing side. Clattering down the rocky trail, we came to the Christians from Jerusalem. (Their Arab driver was asleep in the bus down by the road, as we saw later.)

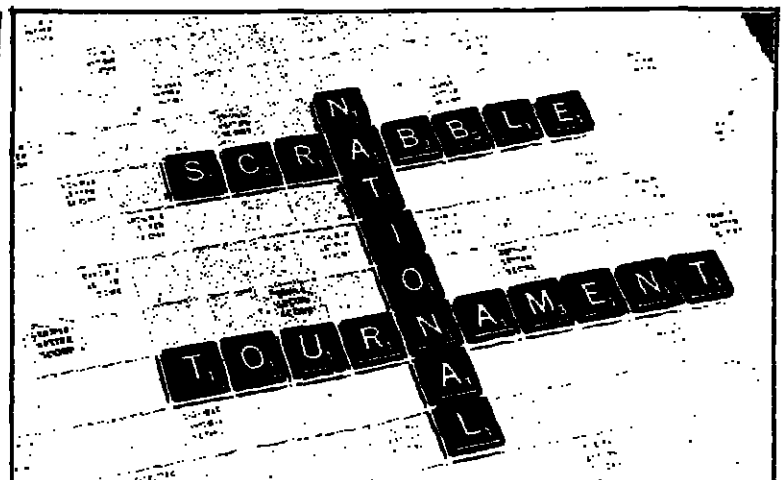
"Hi!" I said, inadequately, representing the victims on the sidelines, as the Jews were during this campaign. "What are you doing here?" Doing a play. Great, I said. Who's playing Saladin? "The one in the funny costume." And who's Raymond? There. And Raynald? The tall one. And Eschiva? The woman in the black dress. "Well, great! Have a nice day!"

I don't find it easy to keep Raymond and Raynald straight. Raymond of Tripoli may be thought

of as the good Crusader, although he was accused of treason for negotiating a truce with Saladin, partly because there was famine in the land. He was the husband of Eschiva, the heiress of Tiberias; he strongly advised against engaging the Moslem force at Hittin, but nevertheless fought there and was wounded.

Raynald of Chatillon was the bad one. We can't go into this again here, but he was famous for breaking his word, and Saladin cut off his head outside his tent, somewhere near where we chatted with the Londoner and the Australian and the moshav boy.

OUR ENCOUNTERS this year were, I am happy to say, a great improvement over how things stood at the 700th anniversary. The Victorian travel writer J. L. Porter, who visited Galilee in the 1880s, witnessed a bloody conflict on the Hittin battlefield between Kurdish soldiers of the Turkish army (Saladin, remember was a Kurd) and Beduin tribesmen, in a dispute over stolen horses. Porter later found the wounded uncared for in Tiberias, and paid Jewish women to nurse them.



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## Letter from out there: Alexander Volovik

# A genuine Gypsy horseshoe for 10 ag.

MY MOTHER tongue, Russian, has several expressions related to Gypsies. I will give you some examples: "Gypsy luck" - means luckless.

"Gypsy heart" - very cold. "The Gypsy woman predicted..." You've already caught the trend. Yes, it means that nothing will turn out as she said.

The Russians do not have a good word for any people. Not many people, Americans including, have so many bad words to denote other nations. And no-one, I am sure, has a word like "tchuchmek" - a corruption of a Russian word for "man" - for anybody who is not Russian, especially if he or she is of Asiatic origin.

And they use their language, which should be impartial, to denigrate and debate that small people, the Gypsies, who made such a great contribution to Russian culture, and whose praises were sung by the greatest national poets (Pushkin, Lermontov and Blok are obvious examples). The Russian songs best known to the West are Gypsy ones, or are about Gypsies. The Gypsy was a lover of freedom, a vagabond, a thief, an artist, somebody whom the Russian could not understand, could not respect, but a tinge of envy was always there, even though fortune and happiness never came their way.

was from Somerset, and our three different English dialects were mixed and mingled in a Spanish-German blender of a bus.

The road was long, the guide was amusing, and we felt a sort of sympathy for, or at least empathy with, each other. So somewhere in the middle of that tour I gave the lady a small glittering 10 agora coin with a menora on it, and she knew the word. And then after a few minutes she sort of blushed and put this small horseshoe in my palm. And she told me that a very old Gypsy lady had given her this trinket as a lucky charm, but now she wants me to have it. Of course I told her that it is impossible to give away your own luck.

She said that the Gypsy lady would give her another, that this Gypsy woman is in fact her neighbor, that she now has a real house, but in its yard she keeps a van, and that this van is full of various glass and brass things. The English lady even told me the value of all these things in the van... But as the final argument she said that I need this lucky charm more than she. I don't know what she meant - age or something else - but I have this Gypsy gift now, second-handed, to me by the English lady.

I am not at all sure that luck can be transferred from one person to another. But maybe the Gypsies, the one people whose destiny in the 20th century had become so similar to the destiny of my people, both chosen for the final solution, can work the magic. And maybe this kindness of an elderly woman on the bus, who is not related in any way to either of our nations, is an important step on the road. Because we all need luck so much. And we, the luckless, should also try to make it work. I want to believe it.

## In memoriam: Moshe Pearlman

# A writer of action

Friends of the late Moshe (Moish) Pearlman gathered last week a year after his death at the age of 75 to exchange reminiscences of the best-known Anglo-Jewish writer to settle in Israel, who played a key role as an adviser to the military and political architects of the Jewish state.

The intimate circle at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem included Mayor Teddy Kollek; Hebrew University chancellor Abe Harman; former ambassador Michael Comay; parachutist Shaike Dan, architect of the illegal immigration from Eastern Europe, and Prof. Venia Hadari, who headed the Aliya Bet office in Western Europe; and Aluf Rehavam Ze'evi, formerly OIC Central Command. Attorney David Pearlman, the youngest brother, added family background.

The participants sketched the background of an Orthodox Jewish family in the East End of London, and Moish's studies under Prof. Harold Laski at the London School of Economics.

"He spent six months on a kibbutz in 1936, and returned home to write about the experience in his first book *Collective Adventure*."

In World War II, he served in the Royal Artillery in North Africa, being mentioned in dispatches for bravery. After the reconquest of Greece was assigned, as Major Pearlman, to the British political mission in Athens.

Moish took up writing again after demobilization. He covered the illegal immigration saga as a journalist for various British and American newspapers.

Disguised as a European displaced person, he sailed on the Aliya Bet transport Theodor Herzl, which was seized in the British blockade, and was sent along with the illegal immigrants to a Cyprus detention camp. The *Illustrated London News* printed his experience.

Settling in Israel in 1948, Moish became the IDF's first spokesman as well as a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry. Moving to the Prime Ministers' Office, he became a close

political and military adviser to David Ben-Gurion, remaining intimate with him, and with Yigael Yadin and Moshe Dayan, to their last days.

Moish's subsequent posts included director of Kol Israel and of the Government Press Office. In the Sixties, he was special envoy to a number of emerging states in Africa before their independence.

He finally left government service in 1964 to concentrate on writing. His book on Jerusalem, co-authored with Kollek, which is one of a dozen, has been published in 10 languages.

The friends at the memorial gathering agreed that Moish devoted himself to Zionist endeavour as much because of his attachment to the personalities involved as to the abstract ideals that fired them.



TO THE MAN in the street – and, unfortunately, to the man in the cabinet as well, it seems – Israel repeated a Six Day War-like miracle in 1985 by soundly and surprisingly overcoming supposedly unbeatable odds. This time it was the enemy triumvirate of chronic devaluations, spiralling wages and hyper-inflation. Now, like the offer of peace that was expected from the Arabs 20 years ago, economic growth is regarded as the inevitable and natural consequence of our resounding victory over a soaring consumer price index.

Needless to say, the Arabs didn't come to make peace; indeed, they came back to fight more successfully against an overconfident and unprepared Israel. Winning the initial battle, important as it was, wasn't enough to produce the fundamental changes needed to bring peace to the region. Nor has the July 1985 economic stabilization programme's conquest of inflation solved Israel's more basic economic problems. Indeed, they will only reassert themselves later on.

Pinhas Landau, in a five-year forecast for the London-based *Economist* Intelligence Unit, *Israel to 1991: Reform or Relapse?* doesn't use the 1967 analogy, but it is certainly appropriate. Without overly belittling the achievements of the 1985 stabilization programme, he is far more concerned about the structural changes required to make the new stability a permanent feature of the economy. He sees little inclination on the part of the current government to push those changes through.

This leaves it in a bind. Having been shown that stability is possible, the public won't allow a return of hyper-inflation without punishing its leaders at the polling booth. But the sense of urgency needed to bring about the economic reform is no longer present as it was in 1985, either in the government or among the public, as evidenced by the trifling tax overhaul approved earlier this year.

THUS, AS THE unreformed economy deteriorates, pressure will grow for early elections. They may come as soon as late 1987, says Landau, who is *The Jerusalem Post's* finance reporter. Regardless of which party forms the government, it will be forced by the worsening economic situation to impose strict austerity combined with structural reforms that will lead to a sharp recession. By 1990-91, the downturn will have bottomed out and, fortified by the structural changes implemented during the bad years, the economy will be ready for sustained growth.

These structural problems, which form the heart of the *Economist* analysis, go back to pre-state days and became a permanent feature of the economy during the trying days of the late 1940s and early 1950s. To deal with the swell of impecunious and unskilled immigrants coming into a resource-poor and underdeveloped country, the government embarked on a programme of rapid industrialization. At the centre was the state and the Histadrut-Labour establishment that directed investment, set strict controls on the currency, and essentially made all the decisions that normally are left to the private sector. In its time, it worked wonderfully.

By the 1970s, however, its weaknesses were evident. The system couldn't provide a sufficiently large amount of capital to fuel a modern economy. Inflation was quickening; the economy was slowing down; immigrants couldn't find jobs and neither could Israelis, who often opted to emigrate. The 1973-74 oil price shock did further damage (not the least being that it masked Israel's domestic problems).

The election of a Likud government did little to ameliorate the situation. It abandoned many of the existing controls, but did nothing to trim the huge welfare budget or sell

off inefficient state enterprises. Inflation was gaining momentum, and what little growth the economy was experiencing was largely due to the push given to it by election-economics policies, designed to increase consumer spending.

It was in the 1970s too that the devaluation-inflation-wage hike spiral began to take form. For a long time, it was part of a policy to deal with the distorted economy by forcing lower standards of living on workers, without confronting the unions.

But the policy proved to be a Frankenstein. By the time the economic stabilization plan was launched, economists were not only unsure how to stop inflation, which by then was nearing the four-digit level, but weren't even sure what was causing it.

In the end, it seems the government took the right decision by putting a stable shekel-dollar exchange rate at the centre of its policy. The old circle of devaluations-inflation-wage hikes was broken. But a lot of other things weren't done, and that leads to what is perhaps the most interesting part of the *Economist* study, namely: How our leaders beat inflation without making the country suffer, and thus squandered a uniquely favourable world economic environment of falling interest rates and oil prices, and higher U.S. aid.

Perhaps the most serious indictment is that the state budget cuts, and the accompanying labour-force reductions, were never made. Rather, the government inadvertently reaped the benefits of a tax law designed to deal with the hyper-inflationary environment.

Revenues swelled, but the tax burden weighed down the corporate sector pushing many firms into the red. Unemployment was minimized because the rigidities of the labour market discouraged layoffs and encouraged wages to rise. Those who did lose their jobs often did not end up in the labour statistics.

The boom in consumer spending that developed in 1986 was largely funded by black dollars and withdrawals from savings. Import growth outpaced export gains. Investment fell. There was little supply-side growth, if any. On the surface, and in most of the economic data, all looked well and good, but beneath the surface serious problems were lurking.

WHAT LIES AHEAD for the poor, misunderstood economy?

Faced with growing inflation, starting with last January's devaluation, Landau sees the government (probably the next one – not this one) taking whatever measures it must to stem it by putting the economy through a series of austerity measures into a recession. Public-sector lay-offs will begin the process in 1988-89, but the private sector will, unlike 1985, eventually join in. That's because this time, it will see that the downturn is going to be a long one that doesn't justify keeping redundant workers on the payroll. Shaken by growing unemployment, the labour unions will protest minimally. The economy will shrink.

The good thing about all this will be that the government will use the downturn to institute the kind of reforms its predecessor was incapable of doing. The rigid labour market will be eased by, among other things, ending the link between wage rises in various sectors and a reduction in personal taxes.

The tax base will be widened by jettisoning the deductions built into it over the years and capital markets will be freed of government meddling. Subsidies for health, education and food will be cut under pressure to trim spending, and state-owned enterprises will be sold off to raise cash.

The overall effect of this will be to reduce the public consumption share of gross national product to 24 per cent in 1991 from 30 per cent in the early 1980s. This drop in net public

## LIVING ON BORROWED TIME

The government has tamed inflation but has failed to grapple with the deeper problems of the economy, says an *'Economist'* Intelligence Unit survey reviewed by David Rosenberg. In the end the economy is going to have to pay a heavy price for these failures.



The plan that didn't go far enough. Then-premier Peres emerges from the longest cabinet session in Israel's history with the economic stabilization programme in his arms. (Dan Landau)

consumption will to a large extent be redirected towards the export sector for investment in plant and equipment that will help fuel exports. Imports will remain sluggish in the face of the recessionary economy. By the end of the decade, the civilian trade gap should be down to \$1.8 billion from \$2.9b. today.

By the beginning of the 1990s (and the end of Landau's forecast), the economy should be growing again, this time leaner and trimmer, and far less shackled by government interference than it has ever been in the past.

THE FORECAST stumbles – but it would be wrong to say falls – on two points.

The economic stabilization programme, Landau contends, was dying of neglect throughout 1986, and when the surgeons finally got around to dealing with the patient, all they offered was the deathblow in the form of last January's 10 per cent shekel devaluation. The key element of the stabilization programme was

abandoned and with it, whatever it had accomplished, which was mainly a sharp drop in inflation.

Unfortunately, the *Economist* report was published in April and completed several weeks before that, and the figures emanating from Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics aren't matching the forecasts. The Consumer Price Index has confounded everyone by remaining low, despite the devaluation.

Well, economic forecasting has never been a good profession for people who like to be right all of the time. But in Landau's case, this could be serious. His central forecast sees higher inflation ushering in a worsening economy and forcing early elections and a new government to set things right.

And what if the economy keeps plodding along and the ministers continue fighting with each other without calling new elections until they have to by law? Landau offers this as an alternative, and not a very pleasant one, as it would lead to Israel sliding into the economic

abyss. But it is still too early to write off the central forecast.

It's probably best to say that Landau's timing is a little off. Israelis are always late anyhow; why shouldn't they put this off till the last minute too? The problem is Landau sees last January's devaluation as the turning point. In retrospect, it seems to have been more of a tremor before the real earthquake.

Rather than focusing on the dollar-shekel exchange rate, it would be more useful to look the dollar straight in the eye. Linking the shekel to the dollar (even if unofficially) and later (this time officially) to a basket of currencies heavily weighted to the dollar, was a brilliant psychological maneuver. With their attention ever focused on the U.S., Israelis took that for stability.

But, of course, throughout 1985 and 1986, the dollar was steadily losing its value against the major European currencies as well as the yen, carrying the shekel along with it. The public got its stability and the Treasury its devaluations at the same time.

Now the dollar seems to have steadied, at least for the short term, so that the pressure is back on the shekel, which from its home base is still pressed by 20 per cent annual inflation and wage hikes well in excess of that.

Unless the dollar resumes its fall or Yisrael Kessar backs down on his wage demands, the days of devaluation and all this entails are on the horizon, as Landau predicts.

THE OTHER PROBLEM is the political side of the forecast. Landau makes a case that despite the hectic political atmosphere in Israel and the Middle East, it is the economy that makes people vote the way they do.

"The record of voting patterns shows that neither Israel's greatest military victory, that of the Six Day War, nor its greatest diplomatic triumph, the peace treaty with Egypt, led to electoral gains for the incumbent government," he writes, and concludes: "This lends support to the contention... that the most consistently influential factor on voters' minds... is the current state of the economy."

Maybe yes, maybe no. But the electorate is more evenly split today than ever, with the small parties taking a bigger chunk of the vote. It stretches the imagination to envisage a government ready to step in and force a recession. Certainly, no one would run on that platform, even with the promise of better days later.

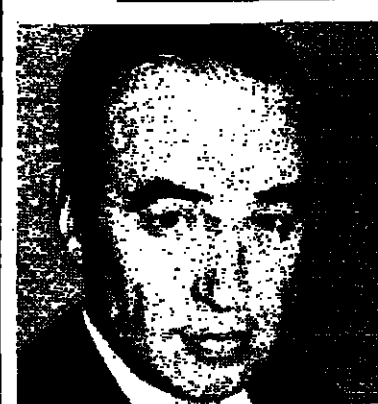
Neither Labour nor Likud is likely to win a clear majority, and once either becomes dependent on coalition partners it must keep them happy and look ahead to the next elections. That is no time to rock the boat and let special interests go overboard.

Faced with a very desperate situation in 1985, and after much dilly-dallying, the cabinet did piece together the economic stabilization programme, but, as an indication of the cabinet's attention span, the programme was already unravelling within a year. It is hard to see another cabinet sticking to a lengthy recession as the *Economist* predicts. In the end, we will get reforms, but probably none as comprehensive as are needed or are forecast by the *Economist*.

These are two relatively minor criticisms of a lengthy and wide-ranging study that can't possibly be done justice to in a review. Landau's forecast takes into account the direction of the world economy; considers the strategic and political atmosphere in the Middle East; delves into the Lavi controversy; and analyses Israel's relations with the U.S.

Indeed, with anything so comprehensive, especially if it tries to look to the future, there will be points to quibble with. But that makes it no less essential reading for anyone with a stake or an interest in Israel's economy.

David Horovitz reports from London



Robert Maxwell: for him newspapers are 'the ultimate symbol of power and influence.'



Rupert Murdoch: 'continuing a family tradition.'

## Newspaper barons carry on buying

IN A \$38 MILLION purchase last week, Australian newspaper tycoon Rupert Murdoch bought his fifth British national newspaper, *Today*, a middle-of-the-market tabloid that is losing some \$2m. a month.

*Today* joins *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Sun*, and the *News of the World* in Murdoch's new international stable, giving him a far larger share of the British market than his arch-rival in the newspaper wars, Robert Maxwell, who was outmaneuvered by Murdoch in the battle for *Today* and must make do with his *Daily Mirror*, *Sunday Mirror* and *Sunday People* for the time being.

Murdoch inherited his love of newspapers from his father, Sir Keith Murdoch, who once controlled Australia's largest press empire, but who died in 1952, leaving only a small Adelaide paper to Rupert.

Slowly and cannily, Murdoch junior built up a newspaper group that now operates in Australia, Britain, and the United States, and which absorbed the world's most famous newspaper, *The Times* of London in 1980.

That acquisition sent tremors through Fleet Street, where it was feared that Murdoch's well-known support for Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party would prejudice the scrupulously independent political standpoint of *The Times*.

These fears, indeed, appeared more than justified when Murdoch fired editor Harold Evans, reportedly because Evans balked at the pro-Conservative leaning Murdoch was trying to introduce in the paper's leader columns.

Since Murdoch already owned *The Sun* and the *News of the World*, there was also concern at the increasing dominance of Murdoch in Fleet Street; but then as now, the government did not oppose him.

IN CHOOSING not to refer to *Today* purchase to the Monopolies Commission, Industry Secretary Lord Young explained that the paper's "separate and viable existence was in jeopardy." "Indeed, the paper has been losing money since Eddie Shah launched it 18 months ago, and even staff cutbacks and circulation increases have failed to slow the slide into the red.

But Labour ministers have criticized the government for consenting to the sale, accusing Murdoch of "holding a pistol to the government's head" by threatening to withdraw his offer if the Monopolies Commission was brought in.

And the Liberals went so far as to claim that, by allowing Murdoch to buy *Today*, the government was "corruptly giving Mr. Murdoch his pay-off for political support."

The Liberal/SDP Alliance has particular cause to regret the sale, since *Today* was the only national newspaper to support the Alliance in the run-up to last month's election. If the evidence of *The Sun* and *The Times* is anything to go by, *Today* is unlikely to retain that political slant for long.

Indeed, after only a week at the helm, the Murdoch influence is already there for all 300,000 of *Today's* readers to see.

The front page headlines size has doubled, so that, as with *The Sun*, there is scarcely space for more than a couple of paragraphs of text under headlines and overlines that occupy three-quarters of the page. The leader column has twice been given over to scathing attacks on the critics of the Murdoch takeover, and even the *Today* logo has been enlarged and set in a new, forward-leaning italic type.

The appetite of both Murdoch and Maxwell for acquiring newspapers appears to be insatiable. While Murdoch is continuing a family tradition, Maxwell sees the purchase of national newspapers as the ultimate symbol of power and influence.

The Czech-born son of Orthodox Jewish parents, Maxwell made his fortune in publishing, served as an MP for six years, and became a household-name when he purchased Oxford United football club.

Before acquiring the *Mirror*, Maxwell had bid unsuccessfully for both the *News of the World* and *The Observer*, and his determination to expand his newspaper empire is evidenced by his recent launching of the *London Daily News* and his efforts to set up a national chain of regional dailies.

With the sale of *Today*, only the *Guardian* and the *Independent* remain as truly independent newspapers, and the domination of Murdoch and Maxwell in the mass-readership tabloid market is overwhelming.

If anyone can make *Today* competitive, it is Murdoch, whose appointment of former *News of the World* editor David Montgomery to take charge suggests that *Today* is likely to drive down-market in the search for new readers.

As a cartoon in the *Guardian* joked last week, once Murdoch has made *Today* pay, perhaps he'll be launching a bid for the Monopolies Commission.

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# MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

## Summer speculation

The Israeli financial markets have started the summer by getting themselves tied up in what looks to be a rather premature devaluation scare. Nothing can or should be dismissed out of hand, however, and investors can usefully spend some vacation hours pondering the pros and cons of a dollar speculation.

On the face of it, there is little or no justification for a devaluation at the present time. The January devaluation passed off much more smoothly than anyone anticipated, and instead of being eliminated by inflation within three months, we find that after six months the rate of inflation has yet to catch up. Exports, for their part, are growing satisfactorily, and the surge in imports has at least leveled off. Foreign currency reserves are so high that the Bank of Israel is in danger of floating away on the tide of dollars. None of the fundamentals, therefore, points in the direction of a devaluation.

Nevertheless, the rumors started and picked up enough steam to push the black market dollar from 1.58 to 1.64, which is as high as it's been in several months. Two possible reasons may be cited for the rise, despite the anti-devaluation rationale noted above. One is the purely seasonal factor of demand from Israeli tourists heading abroad during the next two months. By all accounts, a record number of exits are scheduled, and no one except honest men and fools is going to buy their allowance in the bank and pay over 16 per cent in taxes and levies. The black market is infinitely more preferable.

The second factor may be the recovery of the dollar in the international markets, particularly against the yen. If this trend strengthens, say some analysts, the basket of currencies must rise against the shekel, because to hold the dollar steady would mean revaluing the shekel against the European and Japanese currencies and thereby hurting exporters and cheapening imports. Nimble traders may have wanted to guard against this threat by stocking up on dollars while they were cheap.

There is an even more far-out theory going the rounds. This says that the Bank of Israel would rather devalue now, and then sell its reserves at a more expensive price as the rush from foreign currency to shekels takes off again. Then it would wait for the business sector to buy up its stock of dollars at today's price and then sell them back at a post-devaluation higher price. The central bank would take its profit now, even though it knows that it would lose most of it again in the bank share recycling due in October. That debt of almost NIS 2 billion is dollar-linked, and would therefore cost more after a devaluation.

This extraordinary concept gained popularity, perhaps not surprisingly, among stock exchange brokers and traders, and may help explain the

vehementness of the declines in the share market that ended on July 1. But it seems pretty nonsensical for a number of reasons, one of which may be simply put: The finance minister is engaged (with the support of Bank of Israel governor Bruno) in persuading the Histadrut that in the current atmosphere of stability a wage rise would rock the boat.

For Nissim and Bruno to devalue in the course of the wage negotiations would be the height of idiocy, since they would thereby make huge waves that would destroy their own credibility and sink themselves and their precious stability with them. The immediate response of the Histadrut would be to at least double its effective wage claims and press them home without needing to take the government at all seriously.

On the other hand, so long as he does not devalue, Nissim has the whip hand over Kassar and Haberfeld. He can say to them, "If you succeed in extracting a larger wage rise than I feel is reasonable, I will devalue and thereby wipe it out." This is a dangerous ploy, because it sounds like Samson threatening to pull down the temple on himself, but it is a lot more credible than devaluing first and then waiting to see how the workers react.

The bottom line, therefore, is that a devaluation is not merely against the government's long-term policy, but is impossible to reconcile with its present needs and short-term tactics. The October bank share redemption is in fact a reason to postpone a devaluation at least until November-December. But the exact timing will depend on the rate of inflation beyond July-August, when it is almost certain to be very low, on the wage settlement that is eventually worked out, and on the trends of imports and exports. According to Bruno, at least, the wage factor is the crucial variable.

The fact that exporters may have begun slowing down their transfers of foreign currency to Israel, and recommenced the build-up of funds abroad, in expectation of a devaluation down the road, is not in and of itself a reason to play into their hands by giving them one earlier than necessary. It is a fact that no one really knows what the last third of the year will bring, both internally (including potential government crises) and externally (oil prices).

For all of these reasons, speculating against the shekel, when the local rate of interest is still in excess of 1 per cent per month, is a dangerous game. Since devaluations nowadays are a matter of 6-12 per cent, getting your timing wrong by 2-3 months is a fairly clear failure, because of the alternative cost involved.

It may be that the share market, which yesterday picked up steam and saw volume increase sharply after several dull and dry days, has decided that the devaluation story was overdone, at the present time. What seems certain is that the market that offers the best investment against any deterioration in the current state of semi-stability is the index-linked bond market. Prices there are not much higher than they were in March and April, and yields are attractive by almost any standards, for the long-term investor.

Dollar-linked bonds, by contrast, have risen steadily for several months, and are not as attractive as an investment vehicle, while having little potential as speculative plays against the threat of a possible devaluation that, even if it comes, will not be very big.

## Wages down from last quarter

By DAVID ROSENBERG

The average worker's pay-check was worth 4 per cent less in the January-March quarter, compared with the last three months of 1986, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday.

The decline—the first quarter-on-quarter drop in over a year—brought the average worker's gross wage to NIS 1,200 a month, measured in fixed prices, the bureau said. The figure was up 3.8 per cent on year-earlier levels.

The first-quarter drop brought an end of the trend of steadily rising wages that began after sharp drops prompted by the implementation of the economic stabilization programme in July 1985. Indeed, the bureau said, the average wage in the first quarter of 1987 was about the same as in April-June 1985, the quarter

prior to the programme's implementation.

The bureau noted also that the first-quarter figures were affected by the moving up of the 1986 tax year, which normally would have ended in March 1987, to December 1986. As a result, one-time payments to workers that normally would have come with their March pay-checks were included in their December salaries instead.

In the three months after the stabilization programme was instituted wages slumped 14.6 per cent and another 1.1 per cent in October-December, before they began a steady rise through 1986, with the steepest rise a 14.4 per cent jump in the first three months of the year.

The level of wage declines varied widely from sector to sector. Industrial workers saw their pay-checks

slump 1.5 per cent from the previous quarter but they outpaced the overall year-on-year rise, rising 6.3 per cent.

Agricultural workers' salaries were off 3.2 per cent on the quarter but were up 0.7 per cent on the year.

The largest decline was in the trade, food services and hotel sector, where wages were down 6.7 per cent on the quarter and 2.1 per cent on the year. Electrical and water workers' salaries soared, meanwhile, rising 14.4 per cent on the quarter and a sharp 33.1 per cent on the year.

Industrial workers' salaries were as a result about the same level they were in the months before the economic stabilization programme, while agricultural workers' wages were lower than two years ago. In the other sectors, most salaries were similar or higher than in the April-June 1985 levels, the bureau said.

## Sunday strike won't hurt vital services

Post Economic Staff

The Histadrut and the Treasury, which have been at loggerheads on most things, did agree yesterday that Sunday's 24-hour strike of public-sector workers would not affect essential services.

The Histadrut and the Civil Servants' Union voted yesterday to exempt electrical and water workers, as well as those in defence industries, who will however be authorized to hold informational meetings between 9 and 10 a.m. Public health services, including hospitals, will run on Sab-

bath schedules.

The airport workers will strike from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. All other government offices will be closed for 24 hours starting at 6 a.m. Sunday.

Meanwhile, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim said last night that the cabinet had given him permission to issue orders calling back workers in any sector he deemed essential.

Earlier in the day, Nissim told reporters that he had offered to discuss with Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kassar a proposal to pay wage increments to the lowest-

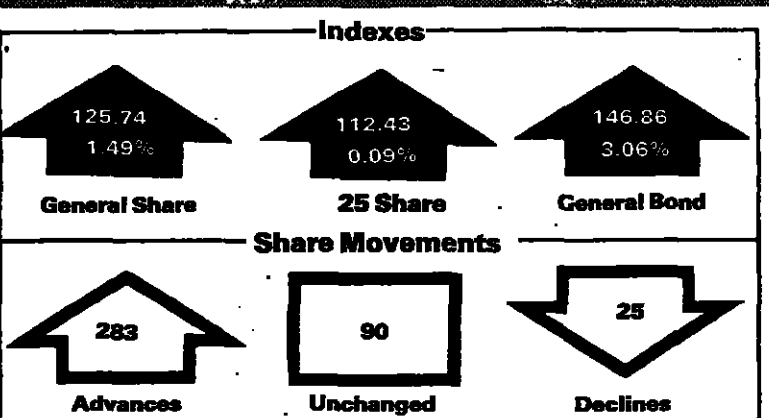
paid workers and to civil services pensioners.

But he again rejected across-the-board hikes, as the labour federation has been demanding. "I think the workers know that this would bring back inflation and would be detrimental to their own interests," Nissim said.

### Kiryat Shmona strike

KIRYAT SHMONA (10m).—Five hundred municipal workers went on strike yesterday to protest against the city's failure to pay June salaries.

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange



### Selected Prices

Name	Price	Volume NS	% change
<b>Commercial Banks</b>			
(last part of "arrangement")			
QHH	21100	8	~
Maritime 0.1	1780	1120	+5.0
Public and non-int.	20455	144	+1.0
FBI	8536	9722	+4.0
<b>Commercial Banks</b>			
(part of "arrangement")			
IDB	100800	689	~
Union 0.1	75000	74	-0.2
12count	42	~	~
Mizrahi	41300	546	~
Hapoalim	69300	2441	+0.3
Genesiv A	6	17420	~
Leumi 100.0	53350	1959	-0.8
Fin. Trade	58198	~	-0.0
<b>Mortgage Banks &amp; Finance</b>			
Leumi Mort.	6857	957	~
Dev. Mort.	2673	2957	+10.0
Mishkan	4020	1154	+6.9
Tefahot	24700	332	+8.7
Morav	7880	284	~
Leumi Ind.	12219	381	~
Cal Lending 0.1	30400	14	+1.8
<b>Insurance</b>			
Aneret 0.1	1250	546	+7.1
Phoenix 0.1	780	2500	+4.0
Haimanstein 1.0	5200	520	+3.7
Menorah 1	340	51	~
Schar	28	10700	+5.0
Securities	1238	80	+10.4
Zion Hold. 1	7850	~	-1.2
<b>Trade &amp; Services</b>			
Intergama 1.0	7650	~	~
Meli Ezer	10063	8923	+3.8
Crystal	621	1844	-0.5
Lighspace 0.1	710	201	+9.2
Gold Storage 1.0	1250	1330	~
Den Hotels 1.0	1860	270	+1.2
Coral Beach	6750	180	+5.5
Yehuda Hotel	2750	100	~
Nitin 1.0	4500	310	+2.0
M.L.L. 1.0	13700	25	-2.1
Team 1.0	770	1179	~
<b>Real Estate, Building and Agriculture</b>			
Al-Ros	1705	1022	+2.1
Prices Inc. 1.0	5000	105	+4.2
Prices Inc. 1.0	42100	420	+3.3
Araden	2783	1752	+10.0
Araden	6500	725	+2.7
J.E.C.	294	15958	+5.8
Bayada 0.1	4600	1330	+7.5
Gene	18520	333	+3.1
Acornfin Propt.	310	9041	+4.4
Mahadim	6440	650	+3.9
Hudsonfin Propt.	1675	901	+4.4
<b>Trades</b>			
Dubai B	5790	500	+2.7
Tempo 1.0	37363	138	-2.5
<b>Investment Companies</b>			
Israel Corp. 1.0	4300	5511	+7.2
Wolfson 1	121000	1	+3.4
Hapoalim inv.	826	8853	+1.0
Mizrahi Invest.	340	35	+3.9
Yasoun	242	11857	+6.8
Palma 0.1	7950	68	+4.5
Fryson	13250	408	+5.1
<b>Oil Exploration</b>			
Pax Oil Corp.	34243	66	~
J.O.E.L.	760	19253	+3.0
<b>25 Shares</b>			
<b>Moort</b>			
Name	Price	Volume NS	
First Internat'	7150	693	
Hasaneh R	313	2408	
Calif. Lending	240	240	
Supered A	12720	24	
Supered B	9802	111	
Supered C	2621	240	
Acornfin	1084	2538	
Calif. R. Estate	3090	200	
Prop. & Building.	68896	2	
Elbit	847	1059	
Elbit	70784	6	
Elbit	1077	56	
Elbit	10160	8	
Elron	36879	7	
Elron	14572	150	
Deed Sea	27470	52	
Petrochem	30628	60	
Acornfin	11808	7	
Central Trade	247	21300	
Cal Industries	8263	240	
IDB Develop.	5271	59	
Eliron	2514	62	
Discount Invest. I	1186	1234	
Pat Invest.	2913	120	



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## Defusing the Druse

THE DRUSE villagers of Beit Jann, loyal Israeli citizens all, have a valid grievance. But the remedy for it devised by a group of Alignment ministers following Monday's explosion of violence in the Mount Meron nature reserve is questionable.

Beit Jann, in Galilee, is the Druse community writ small. Like Druse throughout the country, its inhabitants have come increasingly to complain of their lack of equality with the Jews, despite the fact that their sons serve in the armed forces. "We," they say, "carry the obligations of Jews, but only the rights of Arabs."

Living in Beit Jann, however, entails added disabilities, which have nothing whatever to do with being Druse, but which help explain the unprecedented altercation between the villagers and the forces of the law this week.

The seeds of the trouble were planted back in 1964, with the passage of the Nature Reserve Law, one of the Knesset's finest pieces of legislation ever. Under that law, 100,000 dunams of primordial countryside on Mount Meron were declared a nature reserve, excluding only 2,000 dunams which comprised Beit Jann and its immediate environs, lying at the very heart of the reserve. The villagers, then numbering about 1,000 were promised that they could keep on cultivating another 13,000 dunams of olive groves and orchards owned by them within the reserve, provided they refrained from using heavy mechanical equipment for the purpose.

Since then the village population has quintupled, and the residents have begun to chafe under the restrictions imposed by the law which, they claimed, deprived them of their rightful living space and hobbled their development. In support of their demands for a full retrieval of their land rights, the villagers three months ago declared a strike of municipal services, which kept 2,000 children out of school.

When this gesture of protest did not avail them, the villagers went a step further. A month ago they set up a camp site some distance from Beit Jann on land which is theirs, and in which, they insisted, they could do whatever they pleased. An attempt by the police and Border Police, called in by the Nature Reserves Authority, to remove the squatters ended with the guardians of the law, badly bloodied by hundreds of attacking villagers, beating an ignominious retreat.

Two days later the Druse of Beit Jann won their case in the land dispute - if not from the NRA, or from the government, then from a group of five Alignment ministers headed by Vice Premier Shimon Peres. The heads of the village council were offered, and accepted, a proposal whereby the agriculture minister, Arye Nehamkin, who was present at the meeting, would within a fortnight promulgate regulations allowing the villagers unrestricted access to the land they own within the Mount Meron nature reserve.

Moreover, Mr. Peres - Mr. Nehamkin not willing to go that far - would initiate legislation in the Knesset to amend the Nature Reserve Law, removing all Beit Jann land in the reserve from NRA control and returning it to the villagers to be worked at their discretion.

There is little chance for such legislation to win parliamentary approval. Not because it represents, as the NRA director-general, Uri Baidats, complained, "a vile act of surrender to violence" - such public vilification of cabinet ministers by an official is in itself a matter for disciplinary action - but because it could prove the undoing of the entire Mount Meron reserve and, since it could not be confined to Mount Meron, the undoing of all nature reserves, virtually all of which include large chunks of privately owned land. If that happened, it would be a national tragedy.

The people - and never mind that they are Druse - of Beit Jann are themselves a part of nature, and it is plain enough that their just demands for living space have all too long been ignored by the NRA bosses. But the satisfaction of these demands should be possible without lifting the axe on a great national institution.

## NORTH

(Continued from Page One)

he continues to function in the post. North said he thought he had read that Nir had been fired because of North's testimony that Nir "We couldn't have done" the operation without Nir, North said.

According to a recent report in the Washingtonian magazine co-authored by Israeli journalist David Halevy, Israel successfully jammed the communications of the Egyptian plane carrying the ship's hijackers, enabling their capture by American forces.

In answer to the question, "Did U.S.-Israeli military cooperation reach a new level in the affair?", North said: "Yes."

North also cited Nir's participation in a trip to Tehran on May 28, 1986, along with other leading U.S. officials. North said the trips were the equivalent of a suicide mission. The idea that an Israeli government official would go to Tehran on this mission meant Nir had "great intestinal fortitude and an indication of bravery. I think the world of that young man."

In response to questioning by House Republican counsel George van Cleve, North conceded there were differences in the Israeli and American goals in the Iran-Contras dealings.

For example, he said, Israel appeared to want the Iran-Iraq war to go on because it kept two of its most dangerous enemies busy, while the U.S. wanted to achieve an end to the fighting.

He also noted that some Israelis

involved in the affair were making money out of the sales. He appeared to be referring to arms dealers Ya'acov Nimrodi and Al Schwimmer.

"But I believe there was at least a knew about the diversion of funds to the Contras, and that it might even have been Israel's idea to begin with."

Israel has denied for the last seven months that it had any knowledge about the diversion of Iranian arms profits to the Contras.

Nir was North's main Israeli contact, serving as liaison with Ghorbanifar and other Iranians and helping arrange U.S. arms shipments transited through Israel.

The fired White House aide said his close ties with Nir had enabled a U.S. Air Force plane to intercept the Arab hijackers of the Achille Lauro when they flew from Egypt in 1985. Israel is believed to have provided the Americans with the intelligence data for the interception over the Mediterranean.

congruence of objectives that was sufficient to justify us proceeding... We both saw the need to get to some faction within the Iranian government that would lead to a more moderate, pro-Western government in Iran," North said.

Another major U.S. objective was to develop intelligence sources inside Iran, North said. He conceded that the U.S. was forced to rely on Israeli intelligence about Iran because it lacked any of its own.

# Peres takes the obstacle course

Arye Naor

SHIMON PERES went to Geneva to discuss with Egypt's president and other key figures the future of the Middle East peace process without the blessing of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. In this very special government of ours, it has become common practice, whenever the minister of foreign affairs tries to carry out his duty to promote peace, for the prime minister to react with an unequivocal, demonstrative objection. Mr. Shamir has done it so many times that one can only conclude that he is afraid of any progress in the efforts to make peace between Israel and its neighboring Arab countries. He is so consistent in his rejection of any initiative that seems to have the slightest prospects of success that he does not even wait for the ball to be moved to the other side of the field. He seems to be in a hurry to declare his negative position so that it may be clear why the efforts fail.

It would seem that time and again Mr. Shamir has said to himself, "Let there be no doubt who is to be blamed for not promoting the establishment of peace. Let there be no doubt who is the permanent obstacle on the road to peace. Let there be no doubt that Israel, and not its enemies, is responsible for the failure to make peace."

Our prime minister is not a fool. Why does he act in such an extraordinary manner?

The reason for his *modus operandi* is that he expects to prevent a partition of Eretz Yisrael by keeping the situation far from any resolution. Some people have heard him say that if we could hold on to our positions for several decades, the world would finally get used to it; the Arabs would give in; and there would be real peace on earth with Israel holding Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan for ever.

According to Shamir, it depends on us, and us alone, whether or not we achieve our national goal and realize our national aspirations. A strong national will, based on deep belief, is the necessary and sufficient condition for success in the making of history. As a true believer in Jewish rights to the land, he is convinced that we can win if only we stand firmly on our demands.

More than that, he believes that any territorial concessions would constitute danger to the very existence of the State of Israel. Therefore, it would be "madness," as he himself called it, to agree to change the territorial status quo.

Of course, this mode of thought fails to give proper consideration to the demographic process, nor does it consider the likelihood of a small country, dependent on foreign aid, being able to determine the future of an area so important to the superpowers.

SHAMIR FAILS to recognize that there are other actors on this stage beside Israel, and that international politics are multilateral by definition. It does not depend on us alone, whether or not the international community is interested in the promotion of peace in this sensitive region. Peres and Mubarak are not the only diplomatic actors to discuss in Geneva this week the possibility of an international peace conference either there or somewhere else.

The Middle East situation has been discussed on the shores of Lake Lemna this week by representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union, two countries that can influence the procedure as well as the material content of any Israeli-Arab direct negotiation. According to diplomatic sources in Geneva, the two delegations agreed on the desirability of an international Middle East peace conference.

Their differences of opinion with

regard to the powers and procedures of such a conference should not lead us to underestimate the importance of the fact that the two superpowers believe such a conference would contribute to their mutual benefit, and disregarding the negotiating process between the superpowers and its implications for us is not to be recommended.

IN THE LAST few years, the U.S. and Israel have seen eye to eye on crucial international problems. But it is a mistake to assume that current American policy will continue after the 1988 presidential elections. Not only will the next U.S. president probably have his own views on Israel and the Arabs, which may be different from Reagan's, but his global policy may also differ from Reagan's.

In the event of a new detente, one may anticipate a meaningful American-Soviet dialogue on Middle East affairs as well. It has already happened under two presidents, and it would be irresponsible to deny the possibility of its happening again.

Maybe it is for that reason that the Soviets are not forthcoming towards Israel. They feel that in the future they will have to pay less for Israeli acceptance of their participation in the negotiating process in the region, and why should they hurry?

One could say that is a very good reason for Israel to hurry, so as not to miss the boat. If we continue to sit in silence, happy with our stubbornness and waiting until the world becomes accustomed to the fulfillment of our wishes, we shall wake up when the boat is already far out to sea. The consideration we can now demand from Moscow will be far from achievement once the American interest is defined in terms of easing world tensions. And without a massive Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union, we shall very soon lose the Jewish majority in the country between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan river. How shall we hold on to the territory then?

IN THE LIGHT of Shamir's negative approach, the firm stand of King Hussein is very interesting. Hussein has shown that he can keep his word, that he is the kind of person to do business with. This quality is important, especially if he is compared with PLO leader Yasser Arafat.

The Jordanian announcement that the agenda and procedures of an international peace conference have already been agreed was made a day before the Mubarak-Peres meeting, in spite of all the negative statements made by Shamir since April. This is an encouraging sign that the Jordanian monarch takes the conference seriously. It is important for Israel, since it indicates that this may be the opportunity we have waited for so long.

On the other hand, one should not overestimate the significance of the Jordanian readiness to negotiate with Israel. There are many difficulties on the road, and dangerous barriers must be removed before a negotiating process can be successfully concluded; not to mention our domestic difficulties with regard to the execution of an Israeli-Jordanian agreement.

The road is still a very long one, and one cannot see what lies beyond its dangerous curves. Nevertheless, there is a partner to negotiate with, and we may hope.

Shimon Peres should therefore continue his efforts to promote peace. Even without the prime-ministerial blessings of Mr. Shamir, it is his duty not to leave a stone unturned on the long road. The blessings of the soldiers and the prayers of their mothers will accompany him.

# The Dry Bones LETTER FROM AMERICA



## READERS' LETTERS

### ETHIOPIAN JEWRY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Benny Morris's analysis of Prime Minister's Shamir's visit to West Africa on June 26, was very informative. But one aspect was completely neglected: the fact that the prime minister had requested the West African leaders to intercede on behalf of the humanitarian right of the remaining Jews of Ethiopia to be reunited with their families in Israel.

This public pronouncement by the prime minister, highlighting the human tragedy confronting the Ethiopian Jewish community, is just one step forward.

The Ethiopian community in Israel implores the government to constantly raise the humanitarian right of family reunification for Ethiopian Jews, with every foreign government and international forum possible. At least 15,000 Jews remained in Ethiopia. At least 1,000 children live in Israel, unnaturally orphaned, longing for the day they will be reunited with their parents. How long must these people be

denied their human rights?

The step taken in West Africa by Prime Minister Shamir is applauded by the Ethiopian Jewish community. However, a coordinated international campaign, highlighting the human tragedy and asserting the humanitarian right of family reunification is necessary if there is to be a glimmer of hope that the remaining Jews of Ethiopia will ever be reunited with their families in Israel.

FERDA AKALOM, Chairman, Joint Rescue Committee for Ethiopian Jews  
ASSAF FERDA, Chairman, Association of Ethiopian Immigrants

Jerusalem.

Benny Morris comments: Though I did not write about the problem of Ethiopian Jewry in the June 26 article, I led my front-page report of June 21 with the news that Shamir had asked the African heads of state he had met with to intercede with Addis Ababa on behalf of Ethiopian Jewry.

### TENNIS DIPLOMACY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - When India granted visas to the Israeli tennis contingent, Arab states protested to India for agreeing to play against Israel and pressed New Delhi to reverse its decision. The League of Arab States was up in arms, but India stuck to its commitment.

The storm has now blown over. No Arab state has broken off relations with New Delhi and India appears not to have suffered politically as a result.

This only proves that a strong, independent-minded India can maintain its prestige and can command respect without bowing to undue pressure from its Arab friends. The Arab states need India as much

as India may need them and they cannot afford to antagonize a regional superpower like India.

MOSHE VERULKAR

Los.

### GIVING IN TO BLACKMAIL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - I was shocked by a TV interview with a representative of Elite on June 27.

The gentleman blandly stated that, for a possible gain of some 10-15 per cent in sales to the extreme Orthodox, his company was ready to supplement the kashrut approval of the Chief Rabbinate of the State of Israel with the approval of the super-Orthodox rabbinate. With what seemed to me a great degree of cynicism, he explained that they work with the most Orthodox, not just the more Orthodox, in order not to jeopardize the tiniest bit of profit. He went on to explain that at present, Elite had a separate factory for the super-Orthodox products, but in the future, the entire production would be revamped to win their approval.

How can we blame our politicians for giving in to the blackmail of the *haredim* for a bit of gain, a non-Orthodox group like Elite goes along with these demands?

As to the economic element, Elite's representative admitted that the required changes would be costly. Needless to say the regular consumer would pay. Why should we?

MIRIAM LEVIN

Jerusalem.

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